The World Rebuilt

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THE WORLD REBUILT





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W O R L D REBUILT

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WALTER WALSH, D.D.

Leader of the Free Religious Movement towards World - Religion and World-Brotherhood, London. Author of "The Moral Damage of War," "The Thinker and the Fighter," "Jesus in Juteopolis," "The Greater Parables of Tolstoy,"

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DEDICATION

With appreciation and respect I dedicate The World Rebuilt

HENDRICK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

a distinguished master of the arts who for more than a decade has devoted his talents and fortune to the working-out of his great conception of a City which should be a World-Centre of Communication and a means towards the World's Peace, and who, enlisting the best art and artists, has with pen and pencil and architectural design set forth his scheme in noble literary form, successfully summoning also the leaders of mankind to the formation of a great World-Conscience Society to function as the soul of the World-City, and to prepare for the administration of the earth by scientific, rational, and fraternal methods:

and to

PAUL OTLET

Belgian jurist, professor and sociologist, who for a score of years has been a leader in the cause of Internationalism, author of many books on International relations and worldpeace, including his great outline of a World-Charter, organiser of the Union of International Associations and the Centre for International Studies and Informations, with connected publications, museums, libraries and catalogues of International movements, and whose genius for the embodiment of great ideals in the working institutions of society points to the functional activities of the International World-Centre, the architectural features of which have been so magnificently planned by Mr. Andersen

as a visible symbol of The World Rebuilt.

PREFACE

THE FREE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT towards World-religion and World-brotherhood gave birth to this book in the form of Addresses delivered in London. The original intention was to set forth the principles and aims of the Movement. But as the Movement is really a cosmic one, radiating from the facts of universal religion and brotherhood, it concerns itself with the peaceful reconstruction of society, and the rebuilding of the war-shattered world.

Under many different names, the Free Religious Movement flourishes in every part of the civilised globe. It is the Modernist Movement in its most comprehensive and thorough-going form. It has its source in that desire for unity which pervades the modern world. It is a reasoned effort to express and encourage that sweep towards Universalism in religion and politics and social ethics which is the most powerful and hopeful impulse of our time. It takes the world for its parish, and mankind as its concern. It seeks to relate human beings to one another and to their universe by principles which are rational, scientific, ethical, and international.

The Movement is essentially religious; but it is not a sect or a church; for it operates in all sects and churches, yet outside and independently of them all. It substitutes the humanist for the dogmatic, ethics for creeds, and the collective service of mankind for sacraments. It regards religion as spiritual enthusiasm directing itself towards reform of abuses, just social order, free economic conditions, and pacific international arrangements. All forms of religion spring from those universal desires for beauty,

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goodness and truth which reveal themselves in man's growing knowledge of his universe and his own aspiring moral nature, and which constitute the sure warrant for a society of World-brotherhood. The human soul is a unity, and the racial solidarity of man follows. Universalism is the final goal of human effort.

The Movement bases itself on humanism rather than ecclesiasticism. Its root is deep in the spiritual oneness of humanity, and its growth is towards the flower and fruit of international unity. Its faith is in the divinity inherent in human nature; it expects to find goodness and truth in the immortal books of all ages and races; and it regards with reverence all those who in every nation and time have laboured and suffered and lived and died for humanity. In the belief that ample wisdom and virtue dwell within the nature of man himself, it moves forward to the accomplishment of the successive tasks of mankind in the strength of those truths which have been approved by experience, discovered by science, and tested by reason.

The Movement is a movement towards freedom. The goal of human unity can be reached only in the degree in which men and women learn to think independently, fearlessly and rationally; in proportion as mind and conscience become liberated from servile submission to authority and tradition. It assumes the right of everyone to think and speak his or her own thoughts; and expects the greatest progress to follow from entire intellectual liberty and perfect freedom of judgment.

The Free Religious Movement, finally, is an insistent and urgent force in human affairs. As becomes a world-wide consciousness and a world-embracing purpose, it takes

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the widest survey of those questions which agitate the minds and those interests which engage the activities of men and women in every land and among every people. Nothing that is human is alien to it. Acknowledging the common universal religion embedded within every one of the historic and dogmatic and mythical and sectarian forms of religion, yet recognising the same common universal religion in groups and combinations and movements beyond the bounds of all the organised faiths of the world, the Free Religious Movement claims to be an undefined Association of all those who are making towards a world which shall be enlightened by knowledge, guided by reason, and animated by love.

London, November, 1917.

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HE Free Religious Movement sets out boldly towards the goal of World-religion, in the sacred name of which alone can the World be Rebuilt. But the faltering mind at once raises the question, Is Worldreligion possible? I believe it is;

and I can call many witnesses. I call first on a witness

who lived nearly seven hundred years ago.

Jalalu-'d-Din is universally recognised as the greatest of the Persian mystical poets. When he lived and sang, by those who knew him best, he was given the royal title of "The Splendour of the Faith," or "The Glory of Religion." Jalalu-'d-Din was one of the prophets of the universal. He left mankind the universalist gem,

Because he that is praised is, in fact, only One, In this respect all religions are only one religion.

This relates itself to the saying of Schiller, "What religion do I profess? Not one of those you name to me! And why none? Because of religion itself!" And that other saying of Victor Hugo, "We are for religion against the religions."

I next call the spiritual descendants of Jalálu-'d-Din,—I mean the adherents of Sufism, which also hails from Persia, and which sets itself forth as the religious philosophy of love, harmony, and beauty. This is what those adherents themselves say—"Sufism will be the future religion of the world to unite the

East and the West, the Hindu and the Moslem, Christian and Jew, the Shia and the Suni, whose true happiness lies only in unity. Satan, under the guise of caste, creed, race, religion, and nation, creates prejudice for the downfall of humanity, and thus causes brother to fight against brother. It is Sufism which will open the eyes of mankind by the light of divine wisdom." The primary object of Sufism is defined as being "To establish a human brotherhood with no consideration of caste, creed, race, nation or religion; for differences only create a lack of harmony and are the source of all miseries." Clearly, then, the pure faith of Sufism, consciously and definitely, makes for the goal of World-religion.

So does the kindred faith of Bahaism—I say "kindred" because The Bab and Baha'u'llah hail from the same Persian land as Sufism and Jalalu'-d-Din. Bahaism declares as its primary object, "To unite all the races and religions of the world in perfect harmony." It holds to the idea of one religion, founded on the underlying fact of all existence, the unity of God.

The same prophetic voice speaks through Indian Theism, saying, "We, Theists, in India, then, with our tradition of religious toleration and catholicity dating from beyond Asoka, must make a World-religion of our faith, seeking to fulfil and not destroy all the faiths by which man has lived and died in any age or clime."

Another witness I call in the person of Mrs. Eddy, the founder of the "Christian Science" Church, and, perhaps we have in its universalism one explanation of the astonishing spread of her form of religion, "One

infinite God, good, unifies men and nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; ends wars; fulfils the Scripture, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.'"

In the same spirit speaks the spiritual fraternity calling itself "The Alpha Union,"—"One Real Life pervades the whole human race, and is pressing forth to fuller recognition and manifestation. We are not really separate independent units, but members one of another. I can and do work together with the one Love-Life for its peaceful, harmonious, gladsome and perfect realisation everywhere."

Finally—and enough for one roll-call—Iremind you that the last book given to the world by that wonderful scholar and churchman, Canon Cheyne, just before he passed away, was entitled "The Reconciliation of Races and Religions." He himself thus sets forth the aim of the book: "It would fain contribute to the cause of universal peace, and promote the better understanding of the various religions, which really are but one religion." Here is a perfect echo of Jalálu'-d-Din, "all religions are only one religion."

I believe I used the word "finally." But one seeker more I must produce in the form of modern science—for Saul also is among the prophets of the universal. Keen discussions are on foot in connection with the sciences of anthropology and ethnology—the science of man and the science of race—which promise to end in putting this whole matter of World-religion and World-brotherhood on the firm and assured basis of natural fact and law.

I believe there is a growing indisposition on the part of science to challenge the fundamental proposition of

religion, the proposition, namely, that man is a spiritual being. But if man is a spiritual being, then by the power of his spirit he can, to some extent, control and direct the physical and chemical elements of his being, can modify heredity, respond to environment, and shape his course towards a definite goal of existence. In its earliest stages Darwinism was too confidently material. That misunderstood thinker, Nietzsche, laid his finger with unerring precision on the weak spot when he said, "Darwin has forgotten the spirit."

Now, if man is a unity, it follows that he is a spiritual unity; and therefore he must be the subject of a common or universal experience; and it is in such experience that we may find the material for World-religion. We must look for something in the general religious consciousness that tends to become concrete in experience, and to realise itself in practice. And I do not think we shall have to look very far. In that prodigious book, or rather library of books, The Golden Bough, Professor Frazer has collected the proofs of that common experience and practice; and all we have now to do is to think out and work out the practical conclusions to which his facts point.

The spiritual unity of man is also an assurance that he can universally respond to the appeal of a common religion. Suppose such a common appeal were something like this. The great Power who holds us in his hand seems to have some kind of purpose and intention with us; nay, even, some care and pity and love for us. It seems also to be his wish that we should care for and pity and love each other. Let us live accordingly! The more passionately that were believed, the

more it would tend to express itself in the familiar couplet, The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man; but I do not know that it would be any the worse for that. Those whose minds ran in other channels would choose other forms of words; but the facts expressed would be the same. In any case, such a universal appeal, sincerely held and simply made, would appear fitted to meet the wants, direct the lives, and fulfil the dearest hopes of the whole family of man. Separated from the metaphysical subtleties with which it has been accompanied, it would be acceptable to the mind of the average man, and not unacceptable to the spirit of the artist, the scientist, and the philosopher. I believe Walt Whitman spoke the mind of culture when he said, "Everything is for the sake of religion!"

Therefore, I conclude that a World-religion is possible; and I mean a religion that would be capable of satisfying the mind and sustaining the heart of the human race, and reconciling its sundered tribes. All the prophets are agreed that religion is one; but if there is only one religion it must be the true religion, and it must be the World-religion, for there can be no other. So much seems clear.

I have mentioned *The Golden Bough*. In the first volume of *The Magic Art*, Dr. Frazer tells a curious story which helps my argument. Last century, there appeared in Kentucky an impostor who claimed to be the Son of God, the saviour of mankind. He protested that if they did not mend their ways within a certain time he would give the signal, and the world would crumble to ruins. Now it came to pass that a German resident in Kentucky, seeing that his fellow-

countrymen did not understand English, besought the new Messiah to announce the dread event in the German language, so that his countrymen might not be damned merely because they could not understand English. The saviour and Son of God confessed with great candour that he did not know German. "What," retorted the petitioner, "you the Son of God and don't know all languages, don't even speak German! Come, come, Bedlam is the place for you!"

He was right. A God who cannot speak all languages cannot serve the ends of humanity. Each man must hear in his own tongue the wonderful things of God. A God who cannot speak German as well as English, and Turkish as well as Greek, is no God at all, but a mere idol. But dropping metaphor, what I mean is, that since there is only one God and one humanity, there can be only one religion. And we are now discovering it.

Our position will be strengthened, I think, if we reflect that all forms of religion arise from the common life and the common ideal of humanity. For all religion manifests the same spiritual capacity—the same potentiality of nature—to use the ponderous but necessary phrase. It is by the emergence of successive ideals that the moral progress of mankind proceeds. With some races the ideals are higher, with others, lower; with some they come faster, with others, slower; but all the ideals have the same family likeness. They are dull and unformed in savage minds, but they all imply some measure of upreach towards beauty, and goodness and truth. Who does not remember Longfellow's tender lines in "Hiawatha":

Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple, Who have faith in God and Nature, Who believe that in all ages Every human heart is human, That in even savage bosoms There are longings, yearnings, strivings, For the good they comprehend not, That the feeble hands and helpless, Groping blindly in the darkness, Touch God's right hand in that darkness, And are lifted up and strengthened:—Listen to this simple story, To this song of Hiawatha!

I think it cannot be disputed that the ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, in their lowest as well as highest forms, are the urgent motives which drive mankind along the upward path which leads from cannibalism and fetichism to art and science and poetry and philosophy and music and literature and religion, and to the still alluring pinnacles of civilisation. It is by the urgency of these all-impelling motives that men and women rescue themselves and start anew on the path of progress after they have become embedded in carnality and selfishness; reminding themselves, in the majestic phrase of Lord Morley, that life is "a great and noble calling—not a mean and grovelling thing to be shuffled through as we can, but a lofty and exalted destiny."

If we find ourselves able to occupy this view-point, we shall not find the problem of evil trouble us very much; for we shall be occupied more with the self-

perishment of evil than with evil itself; with the joyful growth away from evil rather than with the suffering it inflicts. We shall see that evil is not something to be atoned for, but to be out-lived, to be out-grown; perhaps a necessity of growth; perhaps the means and condition of growth; though I am not putting this forward as a complete solution, which is not our present purpose. If we cannot solve the riddle of the universe, we can at least be willing to look on the bright side as well as the dark one. In the growth of man's spiritual and social nature; in the increasing fineness of his spiritual nature and social sympathies, we can at least look along the line where the solution is to be found, and have some measure of peace of mind.

We have to kill the theological fiction that man is naturally an evil being; averse from that which is good, greedy for that which is wicked; born in sin, shapen in iniquity, destined to a miserable eternity. We have to pile up and accumulate the evidence that man is naturally inclined to goodness; that man instinctively prefers goodness; that man has a developing capacity for the pursuit of goodness; that man finds more joy in doing good actions than evil ones; that the worst of those unfortunates whom society calls "criminals" also display wonderful power of response to kindness, and become kind in return.

We can believe all this without attributing it to the presence of an indwelling God. We can adopt the idealist theory and say that the idea of God is nothing more than a projection of the human mind idealising itself. Or we can, if we like, adopt the humanist explanation, and say it is inherent in human nature;

leaving the question as to how it got there for future consideration. Or we can adopt the theistic explanation, believing that as man grows in his own spirit the more he grows in the consciousness of a Spirit immanent in his own yet transcending his own, infinite in beauty, wisdom, truth, goodness and love. Or we can try to harmonise the two views by saying that while God is with us and within us, yet it is only by our own efforts that we can hope to reach the goal of moral perfection, or attain the life everlasting along the eightfold path. We have no cause to quarrel over these various possibilities, due to temperament as much as to reason or knowledge, in all probability. We can emulate the sweet Sufi saint, Rábia, who, when asked, "Dost thou hate the devil?" answered "No!" "And why not?" "Because my love to God leaves me no time to hate him!" From all these view-points we can look back and trace the human road by means of history and various sciences. We can mark man's gradual advance towards the moral life, the artistic life, the scientific life, the religious life. And then, turning our faces to the future, we can by inferential faith behold the crown of achievement laid upon his brow in some far-off day.

I have spoken of the ideals of truth, goodness and beauty as being native to man's spirit, and universally present, even if only in rudiment. How rapidly the proofs accumulate! We are digging them up from the sands of Egypt, in the shape of tablets and inscriptions, testifying to their existence in times that are as yet prehistoric, and in forms of great elevation and comparative purity. We are unearthing them from

ancient Babylonia, and discovering the immense debt of the "higher" religions, as we call them, to that ancient womb of religions. We can read it in Homer—the eternal love that abides in the human father's breast, in such a scene as the parting of Hector and Andromache; full of religious sentiment and suggestion. We get it consciously in the Greece of Socrates, who wrote a new chapter in the history of moral consciousness, and established the eternal value of personality, sealing his testimony with his life. So also in Rome, from Seneca and the Stoics, we get new developments in the conception of justice and moral obligation.

I desire to give emphatic repetition to the truth that we have in nature herself the eternal and indestructible foundation of religion. Nature-so long thought to be man's enemy, the machinery set going against him by infernal powers-is now seen to be man's friend, replete with wisdom, law-giver and guide, viceroy of the eternal and the infinite, through whom we enter into fellowship with the Father-Mother of our spirits, and with one another. Religion must be as natural as art and science are natural; and must be completely reconcilable with them. Thus only can religion become a power within the modern mind and world,-a power making for knowledge instead of superstition, for virtue instead of cruelty and cowardice. It is impossible to conceive the life of man-either personal or collective life-without religion; and it is impossible for the modern world to entertain a religion that is not natural; and, being natural, universal. For it is only when religion is in harmony with nature and natural law, that it is above the changes of time, the chances of race,

and the manipulations of the selfish. Root your religion in the spiritual constitution of humanity, and you make it available for humanity in all the length and breadth of its nationalities; in all the depths and heights of its moral capacity.

If we pause here, and look back upon our argument, we may reasonably claim to have partly answered the question, "Is World-religion possible?" We may claim to have shown, in great part, that the goal of the Free Religious Movement is a possibility, and therefore that the Rebuilding of the World is the next thing.—

Is it a dream? Nay, but the lack of it the dream, And failing it, life's lore and wealth a dream, And all the world a dream!

Walt Whitman.

Now let us summarize results. We have seen that various groups of religious people struck the universal note, and were consciously and deliberately making for the goal of World-religion. Science was also, we saw, advancing in the direction of the unity—even the spiritual unity—of man. We saw that every form of religion came out of the common experience of man; out of the common effort towards the ideal; and therefore religion had its indestructible foundation in nature, in the nature of man. That was the surest evidence of universality.

Now if I were to use Christianity as an anvil to hammer out my argument, it might be taken to imply an opinion that Christianity was less open to the universal than other historic forms of religion. But

that would not be correct. The arguments which apply to one apply to all. It is only that we are more familiar with the Christian forms of religion.

Many and great have been the efforts of our time to recast and revive Christianity, and even to provide this or that substitute for it; but a similar liquefaction is going on inside the other great religions. The old order changes indeed, and God is seen to be fulfilling himself in other ways, but there is no longer the ancient confidence that it is to be my way, or your way, or another's way. Fewer and weaker are the voices which proclaim themselves as the voice of God.

For, the doubt of the age has proved to be the doubt of self. The bold missionary faiths have surrendered the hope of conquering the world. Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism-not one of these now expects to be adopted by all mankind: not one of them now dares to call itself "the" true religion, and the others "false" religions. They are beginning to recognise that their only chance of survival is to lose themselves in a larger unity. They are searching for unities rather than contraries. The new science of Comparative Religion has sapped the old presumptions with amazing speed. The comparison of religions has brought to light the vast extent of the common elements, and driven the old insolent assumptions of superiority out of court. The note of the age is reconciliation. Every wind that floats across the sea brings some new note in the symphony of the universal. Religion is ceasing to be provincial, and is becoming cosmopolitan. The sectarian church survives, true, but is more and more seen to be unfit to survive.

The universalist church is passing it by leaps and bounds. Everywhere the master-minds are lifting themselves above local traditions into fellowship with the general religious consciousness. The great religions are almost ready to acknowledge themselves to be but sects of a larger growth, and their most forward spirits are expressing their reluctance to have merely "a" religion, and their desire to possess "the" religion. They feel that nothing is good enough for them which is not also good enough for the whole world. It is the religion within the religions they are seeking after, in order to develop it in accordance with the facts of modern science and sociology.

Even trade and politics have become international. Every trading steamer that beats the waters of the seven seas keeps time to "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," and the guns that thunder across the Somme or through the passes of Transylvania are not sufficient to drown the music. All the world is coming round to the view of that mighty Theistic reformer, Theodore Parker,—"There is but one religion, as one ocean; though we call it faith in our church, and infidelity out of our church." And, may I add, the disposition to call it faith when it is displayed inside our church, and infidelity when displayed outside our church is disappearing. We are beginning to see that faith is faith when it exists outside this church or that, or all the churches; and that infidelity is infidelity even when it hides under the cassock of my priest, or flares on the altar of my holy place.

Some time ago I read a thoughtful essay designed

to show that World-religion was a possibility, but which failed to establish its argument because the writer was not able to see over the partition walls which Christian ecclesiasticism had erected in former days. So far as he was concerned, there might have been no Judaism a thousand years before Christianity; a Judaism which contained the essential principles and expressed many of the highest sayings of Christianity before historical Christianity was born. There might have been no Paganism, nor Aristotle, nor Plato, nor Socrates:-No Orient with its god-Mithras and Zoroaster and Manichaeus; its Gautama and Asoka and Confucius to contribute so immensely to the contents of the unwrit Christian scriptures, centuries before Paul and Athanasius. There might have been no Buddhism to anticipate by centuries and in the most startling parallels the ethical and spiritual teachings of the New Testament. There might have been no Gnosticism, or Mithraism, to lend their principal ideas and sacraments to that Christian religion which borrowed from them all and hoped to conquer them all. The writer seemed also oblivious to the fact that three of these ancient faiths at least, Judaism, Hinduism and Buddhism, had continued to live alongside Christianity, apparently as powerful and widespread as of yore. And that a new and formidable rival had even sprung up in the form of Mohammedanism. In the face of these facts, how weak, how futile, it appears, to think of persuading these mighty worldfaiths to abandon themselves in favour of some thin solution of Christian rationalism!

The writer I refer to bases his hope for the universal survival of Christianity on what he is pleased to describe as the personality of Jesus. But in the day when Christian critics are themselves rendering the historic presentment of Jesus less and less credible, an attempt to build a World-religion upon him seems a peculiarly melancholy waste of ingenuity. If the sectional church built upon the illusive personality of Jesus is already crumbling, how is it possible to build a World-church upon it? If the portrait of Jesus is really an idealisation of human nature, what need is there to build upon the portrait? Why not build upon the human nature that produced the portrait? It becomes more and more apparent that the Christian religion does not centre in Jesus, but merely circles round him. Take him away, and another centre would be found for a wider circle. The wider circle must be one that includes the human race, and the centre must be humanity itself. For the roots of Christianity go down far deeper than the personality of Jesus. They go down deep and wide, with innumerable fibres and offshoots, into the older multitudinous faiths I have mentioned. Trace them far enough back and you find they reach to the deepest and innermost recesses of human nature itself. They all came out of human nature. The human soul is the real centre of Christianity, of Mithraism, of Buddhism, of Paganism, of Islam, and all the rest. Therefore the human soul is the only firm and wide foundation for World-religion. The incarnate ideal is neither Jesus nor Gautama, nor Mithras, but humanity; or if Jesus, Gautama, Mithras, Mohammed, and the others at all, then only so far as they are included in humanity.

For, mankind are one spirit. Humanity moves towards its unseen goal, exciting universal admiration, faith, and hope as it goes. The springs of religious feeling start deep in human nature, and flow from the very dawn of being. From time to time the idealising power of the human soul has constructed demi-gods and saviours, or elevated its heroes to that position; but the saviours and demi-gods have been projections of its own ideals; and what are man's heroes but the creation of the multitude of common lives? It must be for ever vain and futile to seek to build Worldreligion on Moses or Mohammed, or Jesus, or Confucius, or Buddah. You can build it only on man. To build on individual men, even if they were historic and not imaginary, would be to emulate the builders of the tower of Babel, to invite further confusion and futility.

In his effort to explain the mystery of the world about him, man has called in the aid of oracles, seers, "revelations" so called. But is there anything here save the activity of the soul itself? It would be absurd to dispute the fact that some men and women have been more nobly endowed than others; and that they enriched the general consciousness by their discoveries and examples. But there will never be World-religion till mankind has dismissed every mediator between himself and God. Religion is now independent of book, or oracle, or priest, or substitute. It has the rich results of scientific discovery, about which it is busy with its interpretations. What our fathers called "revelation," we call discovery. We can apprehend the facts dug out of the earth, or disclosed in the laboratory, or gathered from ancient parchments; and we can

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spiritually interpret them. No theologian would dream of applying the word "revelation" to the axioms and theorems and propositions of Euclid; he would speak of them as discoveries. So with Kepler's laws of the motions of the heavenly bodies. So with Newton's Principia. We do not believe that they were supernaturally revealed, but that they were intellectually discovered. It is just the same with the truths of religion; though emotion mingles here more intimately with thought. Religion also is a purely human quest, in which brain and heart are the equal feet.

We have, in fact, come to see that the supernatural elements which once were supposed to be a help to religion are now a real hindrance. The distinction between "natural" and "revealed" religion, which was once mischievous, is now meaningless. By patient exploration the scientific mind has uncovered the foundations of faith and moral order right down in the heart of nature. The exploitation of souls will not much longer be an ecclesiastical possibility. The garment of myth will fall away from a scientifically conceived universe, and the spiritual ideal will be realised in all its simplicity. We are penetrating to the religion within the religions, the spiritual principle underlying all sects and creeds and churches. More and more clear it becomes that a historic religion cannot be a universal religion. History points to something beyond history. In the last analysis we must search within the soul itself for an authentic account of religion. We have to cross the gulf which divides the ages of superstition from the age of science. We are called upon to leave the husk for the sake of the kernel. We are called on

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to distinguish between accident and essence. The universal spirit is conducting us past the sign-boards painted above the doors of the temples, and is ushering us into the holy of holies, where the undivided heart of humanity adores the undistinguishing Father, Mother, Creator.

One caution I must here throw in. Let no one be deceived by shallow notions of a short and easy progress. Far from it. An enormous amount of sapping and mining has yet to be accomplished. For example, the human soul must be delivered from the fetters of priestly authority. The ancient faiths had a zeal not of God for external authority, and thus bred hatred, discord, and bloodshed. Universal religion must be accompanied by the substitution of internal authority for external. Men must be free to follow their natural bent towards unity. From slaves of authority they must be transformed into sons of the spirit. Liberty is the indispensable preliminary to unity. When the soul of man is no longer exploited by sect or priest, it will display its real unity. For while religions divide, religion unites; while religions dehumanise, religion humanises.

The homes of authority are visible all round, in every land, where magnificent temples and cathedrals continue to be the bulwarks of reaction, and to retard the progress of the World-faith. But the soul is mightier than the temple. Stately cathedrals and ceremonial splendours and vast endowments cannot for ever captivate the aspiring mind of humanity. Bulwarks of the obsolete, the inequitable, and the unjust, they have commonly been. But those sanctuaries of the supernatural shall yet become the forums of the free.

Then they will undertake the task of compiling a universal Bible. The outworn, the trivial, and the useless will be cast away. Their permanent treasures will be gathered from all the ancient scriptures. As for the not less inspiring and precious wisdom of modern times, it may almost defy selection, it is so voluminous. In fellowship with the great Spirit of the universe, man will be able to dispense with symbols, images, and all the materialising impedimenta demanded by the ages of superstition.

This mighty movement towards World-religion calls for men and women to move it. Progress will be made only as those who become free openly proclaim their determination to devote themselves to the common faith rather than to any sectarian variety of it. Into that large atmosphere will come increasing numbers of those whom truth has set free, and who in freedom have found complete harmony of thought and ideal. Abandoning the departmental religions, such people will identify themselves with that religion which is seen to be common to mankind; they will magnify that common element and make it honourable.

Another word of caution! It is not necessary to prematurely destroy or abolish any of the sectarian varieties of religion. They will rapidly abolish themselves. They are fleeing headlong from the light of history and science. And their flight is along the road which leads to World-religion. Their course need not be violently hurried. But without antagonism, it is now time to proclaim the religion of nature, the religion of the soul, the religion of man, as the means

whereby the new civilisation may be promoted, and concord produced among the nations. For a long time differences will exist side by side, but such differences may soon come to be regarded as complementary, not antagonistic—complementary and mutually helpful. What an unspeakable blessing could the religions of the East and West come to this mutual understanding!

And is that all? Far from it. That could not be the final stage. Nor can the final stage be any mechanical amalgamation. It is of unity, not union, I speak. If I might use the language of the schools to make my meaning clear, I would say that final unity will be reached by differentiation rather than amalgamation. Each of the historic sects, Judaic, Christian, Muslim, and the rest, will gradually eliminate the mythical and unscientific and irrational material they contain, and will thus arrive at their common denominator, and that common denominator will be the basis of the World-religion. They will then group and co-ordinate themselves easily and naturally by the law of affinity.

It is by discovery of the affinities of his own nature that man is to be brought into perfect unison with man. Religious evolution henceforth is to work by affinity. It takes the great historic forces of religion, moulds them and us into a higher spiritual unity, and thus hastens that World-religion which is even now among us, the indestructible element within all the religions, and their complete fulfilment.

Those who may inquire of us a reason for what may seem to them a breadth of statement and aim too vast for average men and women will find it in the

argument which has gone before. The Free Religious Movement moves apart from names and methods which would lead more definitely and certainly to a denominational basis, to the creation of a new church, to the founding, in fact, of another sect. That is precisely what must with determination be avoided. There is no place here for the would-be founders of new sects. The recognition of World-religion will automatically abolish the sects. The greatest of the sects is too small for mankind. We can find a home in no church narrower than humanity. We desire to be the friends of all in order that we may unite all.

Now you catch the splendour of that great saying from Theodore Parker—"There is but one religion, as one ocean."

The great historic sects-Judaic, Pagan, Christian, and so forth-may be compared to the vast mountain ranges which divide the countries and continents of the earth into compartments which were once water-tight and insurmountable. There are the Andes and the Himalayas, the Alps and the Pyrenees; and these appear to afford succour and safety to those who live under their shadow, and to separate them by natural divisions from the rest of mankind. There they stand, apparently eternal, unmoving and unchangeable from age to age, symbols of the eternal divisions and feuds of the human family. But round them all flows the mighty ocean—the Atlantic ocean of power, and the Pacific ocean of peace-embracing all, carrying merchandise and messages to and from all, therefore uniting all because fluent to adapt itself to the position and needs of all.

To those vast mountain ranges we may compare the great historic sects—for this peak is Jewish and that range is Buddhist, and yonder chain is Christian; and all stand isolated, frowning, and seem to menace each other from land to land and church to church. But the Free Religious Movement is flowing around—yes, and here and there has invaded the interior—called by different names, but having one motive and one aim. Like the all-inclusive sea the Free Religious Movement flows around and into the great sectarian churches, embracing all, bringing tides of freedom and waves of love to all kingdoms and tribes. We lose ourselves in the one ocean of human love, and profess only the one religion which is the desire of all nations.

Let me recall the noble parable from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, and the words with which Carlyle concludes his essay on "The Hero as Divinity."

When Meister approached the teacher he inquired the kind of religion which was being taught to the children, and was told it was the religion of the Three Reverences—the Reverence for that which is above us, the Reverence for that which is around us, and the Reverence for that which is beneath us—and that it included all the religions of the world. "To which of these three religions do you specially adhere?" inquired Meister of the teacher. "To all the three!" answered the other: "To all the three; for they by their union constitute the true religion."

Thus Carlyle sums the matter up—"The past had always something *true*, and is a precious possession. In a different time, in a different place, it is

always some other *side* of our common human nature that has been developing itself. The actual true is the *sum* of all these; not any one of them by itself constitutes what of human nature is hitherto developed. Better to know them all, than mis-know them.

"To which of these three religions do you specially adhere?

"To all the three! For they by their union constitute the true religion."

HE Free Religious Movement makes towards the goal of World-brotherhood, as the necessary condition of A World Rebuilt. But the sceptic promptly interposes with his arresting "Is it possible?" I answer that it is possible, because it is already here; it is in human nature; it is in the scheme of things. What we have to do is to recognise it and organise it.

I introduce some beautiful words from the Indian Scriptures, "Knit together in silken bonds of divine love, Children of God, what ignorance this, that keeps us apart?" I do not know what book of Indian scripture the words come from. They come to me every fortnight from India, as the headline of a stouthearted little journal called "Humanity," describing itself as "a fortnightly journal of light and love," in which affairs both Indian and European are treated with courage and discernment.

The chosen motto belongs to a high order of religious genius. Bonds of brotherhood do in fact knit men of all nations and races together: but because the bonds are silken they are not discerned by the brutish and the materialised. The world's coarse thumb cannot sense them. It is this dense ignorance of their own nature, and of their true relationship to others, which keeps men and nations apart. The great object of the enlightened and the loving is to persuade men and nations to open their eyes to the truth, to acknowledge the truth, and to weave it into

the social and political fabric of the world. That is, among others, the task of the Free Religious Movement, in all its forms, and under all its names.

In the same spirit as the Indian, the Jewish scriptures cry out, "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?"

To vindicate the spiritual unity of mankind is the function of religion, which derives the ancestry of the one human race from the one Creative Power, and turns that common origin into an argument for justice and mercy. Patriotism is not enough, for patriotism is divisive, and prone to push conscience to the wrong side in a quarrel. In its trend towards brotherhood the human race needs a powerful moral force, a universal motive, which can be furnished only by religion. When religion is sincere and active it always fuses into a unity those who are its subjects. In ancient times Christianity proclaimed that there were neither rich nor poor, bond nor free, Jew nor Greek, but all were one. In modern times Bahaism proclaimed to Jew and Christian, Zoroastrian and Muslim, that they were "all fruits of one tree and leaves of one branch," and persuaded those who had hated each other like true bigots to live together as one family. That was an immense advance upon ecclesiasticism, which included in its unity only "believers"; only such as were members of the sect. Bahaism includes all the sects in its unity. It is truly universal. It makes for World-brotherhood. It is part of the Free Religious Movement.

The three principle obstacles to brotherhood are

creed and class and caste—the three C's we may call them; and therefore it is against creed and class and caste that free religion moves with all its power. Therefore it cannot turn aside from either the church question, or the social question, or the political question. It has to establish the principle of brother-hood in church and state and society, and between the different peoples of the earth. It has to weave silken bonds between the souls of the peoples corresponding to those material bonds composed of millions of miles of telegraph wires, vast arterial systems of rail and ocean routes, which unite the lands in an external manner.

This does not appear so impossible a task to us as it did to our fathers. Both physical and social science are teaching us to regard human naturenot as a fixed and static thing, mostly sick and incurable, but-as a thing that grows like other living things; that can be shaped and directed and changed and improved. It seems to me that the struggle of man's future is not to be against his physical, but his social, environment. Having struck up a bargain and established a kind of balance with nature, he has now to establish a balance in society. Our inter-social relations are yet chaotic and barbarous; our international relations almost more so. The struggles of the past were for independence; the struggles of the future will be for inter-dependence. The human involves the inter-human, and the silken threads lengthen and multiply till they reach both poles and all round the equator, weaving the silken robe of love round the entire human family.

Let me knot that thread fast by a single quotation from Thomas Huxley. Contrasting the struggle for existence among the animals with the mutual helpfulness slowly developing among men, Huxley, in his Oxford Lecture, said, "The practice of that which is ethically best—what we call goodness and virtue—involves a course of conduct which in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion, it demands self-restraint. . . . It requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help, his fellows; its influence is directed not so much to the survival of the fittest as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive."

Mark that "fitting of as many as possible to survive." In its lower stages, Nature's struggle was directed towards the survival of the fittest; but when at last Humanity has been introduced, bringing religion with it, the struggle is directed towards the fitting of as many as possible to survive.

I said last Sunday that science was beginning to proclaim the spiritual unity of man. We now hear it proclaiming his social unity. Presently, we shall hear it preaching the gospel of political unity. Woe betide the conventional religions in that day! For nothing short of that complete programme is contemplated by World-religion. It cannot stop one inch short of World-brotherhood. The indwelling in humanity of the Spirit of the Universe is a doctrine on which we can build a religion of unity and sacredness extending to the remotest branches of the human family. There we shall find a spiritual centre for that

higher civilisation which is issuing from the dissolution and collapse of the older one. It is that which will give meaning and value to life. Humanity will be recognised as a mystic living organism which never dies, which demands our homage and service.

To reconcile the hostile gods is the only sure way to reconcile the warring nations. The unity of God and the unity of man are but opposite sides of the same truth. God, one great Father, man one great child—these are the two semi-circles which form the complete truth of universal religion. Human beings live by two great ideal senses; the sense of Fatherhood, or the ideal of God above them; and the sense of Brotherhood, or the ideal of God among them. For what is religion but the rebinding of the races of men together? That is the meaning and the task of religion. The churches have entirely lost and abandoned that meaning, and seek only to rebind the races of the earth to themselves, instead of to one another. This is like tying leaves on a winter tree, instead of letting the leaves sprout from the tree by their own energy, according to the fine simile of the Bahaist, "all fruits of one tree and leaves of one branch." The spirit in which we view these things is perfectly expressed by Walt Whitman in Calamus:-

I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions,

But really I am neither for nor against institutions, (What indeed have I in common with them? or what with the destruction of them?)

Only I will establish in the Mannahatta and in every city of these States inland and seaboard,

And in the fields and woods, and above every keel little or large that dents the water,

Without edifices or rules or trustees or any argument, The institution of the dear love of comrades.

Yes, that is the mission of the Free Religious Movement. Whatever institutions may come or go, rise or fall, perish or be born, the Free Religious Movement is out to establish in all the earth "the institution of the dear love of comrades."

Some years ago, a most remarkable gathering was held in London, in the form of the first universal Races Congress. It was the natural sequence of the great Parliament of Religions held at Chicago some years earlier. A Parliament of Races follows inevitably on a Parliament of Religions. It was a true instinct which led the late Canon Cheyne to give his farewell to the world in the form of a book on The Reconciliation of Races and Religions. If you reconcile the religions you reconcile the races; for when you establish the spiritual unity of man his political unity does not tarry long. In olden times religion and race went together, and you had a number of tribal deities presiding over an equal number of "elect" peoples. The Race Congress was really the burial of those two dogmas-the dogma of select deities and the dogma of select peoples. The doctrine of election simply crumbled to fine dust as it had never done since the days of Abraham. All the king's horses and all the king's men will never stick it together again. We

used to hear good men speak of the "family of nations"—a phrase which ominously went out of fashion years ago. Well, a Race Congress is the realisation of that idea.

The mention of family suggests equality, and the family of nations suggests the equality of nations before law, and the right of every nation to its share of the tree of life. To each according to his need, from each according to his ability, is a motto which applies to nations as well as individuals. Let me recall the old commentator's moral from the Eve story. When Eve, said he, was created, she was taken, not from Adam's head to rule over him, nor from his foot to be trampled by him, but,—from his side, to be equal with him, from under his arm to be protected by him, and from near his heart to be loved by him. Thus do the different members of the great family of nations stand to one another, though it is not always possible to get them to recognise and acknowledge it. That greatest prophet of the universal, Walt Whitman, in "Salut au Monde," supplies them with the appropriate expression:

Each of us inevitable,

Each of us limitless, each of us with his or her right upon the earth,

Each of us allow'd the eternal purports of the earth, Each of us here as divinely as any is here.

To return to the Races Congress. From facts I noted at the time, I gathered that the Congress represented fifty nationalities. Never before was such an assemblage of thinkers and workers. The whole

world seemed to have got into one room. There were five hundred and seventy-five millions of white or Caucasian people represented, five hundred and twenty millions of yellow or Mongolian people, and one hundred and thirty-five millions of black or negro people. Many of the delegates were professors of international law, others were colonial bishops, a few were British governors, many were members of various courts of arbitration, officially recognised by a score of governments. I call that the most comprehensive handshake in history. As was most fit, the conception of it sprang from the mind of a Jew, Dr. Felix Adler, Professor of Social Ethics in Columbia University. The object of the Congress was defined as being "to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation." Excellent! Most excellent! "Jew, I thank thee for that word"!

Before World-brotherhood can be realised we have all to get rid of a vast amount of race prejudice and race jealousy. The other day, walking down my road at Hampstead, I met a group of convalescent soldiers returning to hospital from an entertainment. Parallel with them walked a negro, also in hospital uniform. But the negro was not on the pavement with the whites. He was walking on the roadway, the Britishers holding no kind of conversation with him, while he looked extremely dejected and unhappy. I confess

to feeling disappointed. Even the boasted comradeship in arms did not avail, apparently, to break down

race prejudice between negro and white.

When John Bunyan wrote his "Holy War," he wanted a Diabolus, or Devil, to lead the attack on Mansoul, and he found him in "a mighty giant . . . one of those blacks or negroes, and a most raving prince he was." My family edition of Bunyan is adorned with a ferocious black figure, with black plumes, proving beyond doubt that the devil was a negro! I daresay the negroes get it back on us by making their devils white!

But that is not the worst of it. Race antipathy displays itself in far more mischievous ways than that. Race prejudice has been wittily defined as "that feeling which shows that the race which possesses it is afraid that it is not superior." Buddhists in India and Ceylon complain that Westerners make offensive attacks upon their religion in the name of Christianity. Chinese complain that Europeans enter their territories uninvited, and then shut them out of Europe and its colonies. Negroes complain that there is a sharper prejudice against them in the United States of America since the war of liberation, as it was called, because the war forced them into the labour world as competitors with the whites. People who have lived long in the East ridicule Western pretensions to teach manners and civilisation Eastern peoples,-Westerners who do not even teach manners in their schools, while the coolie has the manners of a gentleman,-Westerners who received religion and civilisation from the East,

and gave it little but gunpowder and brandy in return.

The fiction about "superior races" has to be killed; for it is the modern equivalent of the old-fashioned dogma of the "elect peoples." It is the old enemy with a new face. And we can kill it only by knowledge. Science—biology and psychology alike—declares the common origin and nature of man. Ethnology and anthropology are establishing his equality. The fiction of "pure" races vanishes before the face of knowledge. What a mingling of the blood of Picts, Scots, Celts, Danes, Goths, Saxons, Normans, to make one modern Briton! If one reads such a book as Jean Finot's "Race Prejudice," one sees how the sciences unite to expose the ignorant hypocrisy of the claim of the "superior races."

I have said that the originating idea of the Race Congress came from a Jew. But you also know that no race has suffered more from the prejudice of other races than have the Jews.

Quoting from a Jewish friend of my own, I give the experience of a Jew, who, while travelling through Italy some years ago, paid a visit to the city of Rome. It was his first visit, and he procured the services of a guide. He found an excellent cicerone in one Antonio, in whose company he visited the art treasures of the imperial city. One day he surprised the guide by telling him that he would like to visit the old Ghetto. While walking up and down this historic district, the visitor asked Antonio, "Are the Jews in Rome to-day of much importance?" "Oh," said the guide, "certainly not." "Are they very rich?"

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"No, not much." "Are they good patriots?" was the next question. "No, no Jew good. Never was a good Jew. All Jews bad. All Jews wicked. Jews kill God. No good Jew. Never was good Jew," came the reply.

The patient Jew bided his time until he came before the great Cathedral of St. Peter's, whose peristyle is adorned by statues of Jesus and the apostles. Pointing to the statue of Jesus, he said to Antonio, "What is that?" "Oh," said he, "you not know that? That Jesus Christ." "Jesus Christ," said the visitor, "who was Jesus Christ?" "Oh, you ignorant man," cried Antonio, "you not know Jesus Christ? Him God, Him greatest of all men. Him Saviour of all men. He great, great God." "Jesus Christ was God," came the surprised comment, "Well, was he born up there?" "Oh, no," said the guide, "you stupid man, don't you know Jesus Christ. He God came down from heaven," "Well, if he came down from heaven, he must have lived somewhere." "Oh, came down from heaven." "Well, if he came down from heaven, he must have lived somewhere." "Oh, yes," replied Antonio, "he lived in Palestine, in Holy Land." "In Palestine, in Holy Land," pursued the unrelenting Israelite, "is that far from here or near America?" "Oh, no, you ignorant man," said the Italian angrily, "Palestine in Mediterranean Sea not far from here." "So," said the American, "when Jesus Christ was on the earth he lived in Palestine, near the Mediterranean Sea. Did he live there alone?" "No," answered the cicerone, "much people there." "Much people in Palestine," repeated the inquisitor, "not far from here, in Holy Land. What people were there? Italians?" "Oh no," said Antonio, "Jesus Christ's people." "Well," continued the Jew, "who were Jesus Christ's people?" "Oh you foolish man," said the guide, "don't you know? Jesus Christ's people, who wrote the Bible." "Jesus Christ's people, wrote the Bible," was the next comment, with feigned astonishment, "I never heard of Jesus Christ's people, who were they?" "Oh, Jew people wrote the Bible," reluctantly said Antonio. "Oh," was the astericked asserticed as the said of the people wrote the Bible," reluctantly said Antonio. "Oh," was the astonished comment, "Jesus Christ was of the people who wrote the Bible; then Jesus Christ was a Jew." "Oh, yes, Jesus Christ," sadly admitted the guide, "he was Jew." "And who," pursued the tormentor, "is next to Jesus Christ up there?" "Oh, you ignorant man," savagely said Antonio, "don't you know? He, St. Mark." "Was he a Jew?" queried the visitor. "Oh, yes," said Antonio, quite crushed, "he Jew; all of them Jews." "But" concluded the visitor triumphantly. "Ithougher "But," concluded the visitor, triumphantly, "I thought you told me there never was a good Jew; and yet all these men were Jews!"

So much by way of illustration. We have prepared the way for a definite and forcible conclusion.

It is one of the primary duties of the Free Religious Movement to foster an international conscience. That Movement is avowedly inter-national, and must increasingly become so. Everywhere we hear the joyful admission that the modern conscience has vastly improved in general strength and sensitiveness. It has become increasingly alive to those problems of the inner life of peoples which are known as "social problems." But it is lamentably weak in matters international. It is not yet adequate to the grasping of the problems presented by racial divisions. Its

virtues are the virtues of the parish; it is ours to make them the virtues of the planet. It is ours to call the peoples together to closer friendships, mutual faith, and mutual aid.

I proclaim this World crusade in the name of the Brotherhood of Man! Brotherhood is in man's nature; it is in God's plan; it is in the scheme of the universe; it is here in principle; we have to make it here in reality. The silken bonds are woven in the spiritual constitution of man. We have to make those bonds strong as iron bands, and grapple our brethren to us with hooks of steel. The proletariat of all countries must unite, according to the former war-cry; yes, but all classes and peoples and communities must unite. The "International" must be reconstituted; yes, but all forms of international well-being and activity must be reconstituted. Nothing less than World-brotherhood can fulfil the divine plan.

For your encouragement I proclaim that the psychological hour has come. The world was never so near brotherhood as it is to-day. Look beneath the surface, and believe it! Look behind the smoke and the fumes, and see it! Listen to the still small voice within the thunder, and hear it! International religion is on the wing, with international sociology in its right hand, and international politics in its left. Our thoughts and ambitions expand to a far wider circle than our own selves, our own homes, our own countries. This war has made internationalism inevitable; a necessity; unavoidable; certain as to-morrow's sun. Nationalism is bankrupt, and with it the old patriotism. Brotherhood is the only path of human survival. In a far

deeper sense than that of the French revolutionary nation is calling to nation—Be my brother, or we shall both slay and be slain! Brotherhood is the only escape from mutual extermination and general murder. We have to grasp the facts of international politics. We must have a positive policy making for a condition of life which will make wars unnecessary. That is the miracle men have to organise. And the Free Religious Movement in every land will provide the motive-power.

Ruined Europe may well echo the noble and immortal words of Edith Cavell, "I realise that

patriotism is not enough."

If I might adapt a great New Testament peroration, I would say:—Therefore whatsoever World is wise, will rebuild itself on the rock of international brotherhood. And though rains descend, and floods come, and winds blow and beat upon the world, it will not fall; for it is founded upon the rock. But if the World is so foolish as to rebuild itself on the sands of mere patriotism and nationalism, it cannot stand when the rains of foreign aggression descend, and the floods of domestic discontent come, and the winds of jealousy and suspicion blow; but it must fall again; and greater than before will be the fall of it.

I have said that a miracle has to be organised. What do I mean? I mean that love is the miracle; and that World-religion has to organise World-love. The full miracle is God's love organised; Man's love

organised; it is the same thing.

In a resplendent passage in Casa Guidi Windows, Elizabeth Barrett Browning calls for "God's light organised." Yes, we are for the organisation of light

too; the organisation of knowledge, of truth, of reason. We also look forward to the good day when the thinker shall take the place of the fighter, when light shall be organised in the schools and churches and workshops and parliaments of the world. We shall not be hindmost in speeding on the embodying of light in the affairs and institutions of mankind.

Yet I venture to substitute the word "love" for the word "light." For while it would be quite true to-day to say that what the world wanted was light, it would be truer to say that it wants love more. Any attempt to rebuild the ruined world on any other basis but love, would be to emulate the foolish builders of Ezekiel, who cried "Peace, and there was no peace; and one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar. . . There shall be an overflowing shower . . . and great hailstones . . . so will I break down the wall that ye have daubed with untempered mortar . . . and it shall fall the wall is no more, neither they that daubed it." If shattered Europe should think to daub its broken walls with the untempered mortar of narrow nationalism and patriotic suspicions and fears and jealousies and exclusions, it will fall never to rise again, neither they that daubed it.

But love is not a mere sentiment, not only an emotion within, a warm feeling, a heart-throb. Love is yet more an activity, a propaganda, a policy, a programme. To employ a big word of the day, love has to be institutionalised. Therefore the great task of religion, sociology, industry, politics, and what-not—their great task is to organise love.

I quite realise that to some minds, on first mention, the idea of organising love will be distasteful. Love is so ethereal, so rosy, so phosphorescent, so greatly a thing of rainbows and starbeams, that to organise it would be to vulgarise it. I have already disposed of that.

Bethink you! Have we not already organised love to some extent? What is marriage but the social organisation of love? Every family is a small love organisation. So is every church, every school, every doctor's practice, every nation. So ought every factory to be, every shop, every trade union, every business concern, and every political system. It is for the extension of love to all human concerns that I am to plead. Love must be made organic. Love must be made articulate. Love must get a body, and feet, and hands, and a tongue and brain, and nerve centres, and an arterial system spreading through the entire human race. Love has to be organised.

Bethink you again! The world has contrived to organise hate. Mankind have harnessed the thunder and lightning to their guns. They have beaten their ploughshares into swords. They have militarised their money. They have mobilised their food. They have organised their women for war-service, in train, tram, van and motor; in field, munition factory and battle-plain. The pens of their scribes and the tongues of their preachers and the brains of their professors incessantly write and speak and scheme for the better organisation of hate. Their chemists and engineers incessantly plan for the better execution of the designs of hate. What has been done in the interests

of hate has now to be done in the interests of love. The same skill and power and inventiveness dedicated to the destruction of the human race must henceforth be devoted to its salvation. All that the world needs is a new direction. A new goal. A new motive. Everything else is there. The love is there too. All we have to do is to organise it; to give it more effective machinery.

One fair summer—ah, me, but a few short years ago, yet how far away it seems !- I was a joyful participant in an International Congress of free religious people in Paris. From all parts of the globe were assembled six hundred delegates, representing seventyfive different religious societies and twenty-five nationalities. That was one of the currents making for the goal of universal love so powerfully, so pathetically pleaded for by Tolstoy in the last love-letter he wrote to the world from his dying bed. But why do I speak of one Liberal Religious Congress? And of one Universal Races Congress? I read that before the war there existed more than five hundred international associations of one kind or another. Less or more, these were love organisations. In every one of them was the spirit of mutuality, union for aims thought desirable and for the common good. Of these five hundred associations, two hundred and twenty had formed themselves into a Union of International Associations, with head-quarters in Brussels. So much I read in statistics.

Not despicable was the organisation of love! But the organisation of hate had been going on side by side with it, and proved too strong for it. The

machinery of hate got out of hand, and smashed the ineffective machinery of love, which now lies broken on the battle-plains of Europe and Asia.

The duty of all wise men and women, good men and women, is to look ahead to the approaching day when the hate-machine will have spent its destructive power, and the love-machine will be put together again, made mightier, bigger, irresistible for good as hitherto the hate-machine has proved irresistible for ill. In this reconstruction of love I know of no kind of people who could play a more useful part than those who make up the Free Religious Movement, in one or other of its forms, in this or that part of the world.

For, always remember that the Free Religious Movement is not a sect. It utterly disclaims every intention of creating a new sect. It is something quite different from the hundreds of shattered fragments which make up the Christian world. It is in vital spiritual communion with all sects and peoples. It is not a separate religion, but the essence of all religion, universal religion. It cannot help being catholic and universal. In its idea, religion and humanity are interchangeable terms. It is for religion in and above all the churches; and for humanity in and above all the nations.

To organise love throughout the world implies the possession of faith; faith in human nature and the power of the human will; faith that mankind love love. To the Hindu it is Brahma's love made manifest among men. To the Buddhist it is the love of the Buddha. To the Christian the love of the Christ. To the Muslim the love of Allah. The name of the deity makes no difference to the reality of the thing.

As it is not bound up with the name of any deity, neither is it with the name of any particular saint or hero. It is the diffused ideal of all the saints and heroes and sages and teachers and reformers of all lands, all races, all ages. It belongs to humanity. The dogmatists used to speak of "The body of truth." But truth is not a body at all. Truth is a spirit. And a New Testament writer properly says that men have access to one another and to their common Father by one spirit. Love does not define opinions in order to divide from those who differ. Love searches for its likeness in others. Love does not submerge all beneath one, but merges all into one. All the most absolutely precious things are held in common by all good men and women everywhere. Love sets itself to organise the unity which exists amid differences; to organise harmony out of discord. -Its business is to unite the children of the All-father in the common service of him and of one another.

It is the possession of this faith in man, in the essential goodness of human nature, which stimulates and sustains us in the endless task of organising love throughout the world.

I ask you to note an important distinction between the issues of hate and of love. The machinery of hate organises itself on the theory of human depravity; it presupposes the incurable ignorance, selfishness and stupidity of man. The machinery of love is built on the theory of human goodness; and will be put together from material supplied by the unselfishness, compassion, and boundless capacity

for self-sacrifice which are proved to be native to the angel heart of man. Let the Kalmuk turn his wheel as long as he must; as long as he imagines that prayerwheels help him to the life of love. But all the time it is the life of love that matters, not the wheels.

By another class of mind, we are told that dogmatic theology is a "necessity of the mind." Well, if it helps towards the life of love, let those entertain it who need it. The test is, How far does it avail to make love effective and real in human affairs?

That question brings us up against a very grave consideration. I am far from decrying the noble qualities which have been devoted to the upbuilding of ritual and dogmatic forms of faith. I know something of the wealth of thought and aspiration which have been poured out on those inferior altars. It is precisely to avert and remedy such soul-waste that I speak. The majestic powers of human nature have been diverted from the service of the eternal to that of the temporal, and from the inward to the outward. It is our invigorating task to bring them back to their proper allegiance. Would it not be wiser to take the great forces of brain and heart which have been lavished upon the construction of ordinance and creed, and employ them in the upbuilding of the soul? For while there are many religions there is only one religion, which is the essence of them all. Our task is to recall men from the religions to religion; from peculiarities to essentials; from the letters to the spirit; from devotion to idols of their own making to the worship of the true and living God who manifests himself in the souls and lives of

his children. There is but one essential faith, which is to all human souls what the one sea is to all its fishes, the one atmosphere to all its birds, and the one heaven to all its stars.

I am well aware that, to narrower types of mind this will appear "nebulous," merely because it is wide, and "indefinite" merely because it is universal. There are minds so constituted that they strive to reduce the immeasurable dome of heaven to the dimensions of an egg-shell. Then they think they understand it. Such minds are not able to see that definition arises from too little faith, not too much. Dogmatism is caused by believing too little rather than too much. The people who believe much, who have much faith, are not afraid of liberty, which is the reason they are called "liberals." The primary duty of religion is to organise love.

Thus far had I written in the preparation of this discourse when a strange thing happened. The midday post came in bringing, with much else, the December number of the Islamic Review, containing an appreciative article on the Free Religious Movement, which incidentally confirms the objects towards which we are striving. After quoting many of our "beautiful words," the editor goes on to affirm that they "simply mirror a Muslim heart." And he continues, "We have only to substitute the word 'Islam' for the words 'The Free Religious Movement' . . . and the words of Dr. Walsh will befit the lips of a preacher of Islam . . . Dr. Walsh and his worthy coadjutors, in their noble cause of constructing a universal church to bring all humanity within its

fold, freeing it from all kinds of sectarian ideas and creedal prejudices, could not think of anything better than what has already been pronounced in the Qur-an . . . preached by Muhammad, who, as he says, was prophet 'to the red and the black as well as to the white and the coloured."

That is a notable testimony to the essential oneness of religion; and is to be added to those given in the address on World-religion. I return upon the evidences with which these addresses commenced.

If there were no other witness the opinions of the *Islamic Review* would go far to justify my argument, that, as Lowell puts it, "mankind are one in spirit," and that spirit is love; and the principal business of religious people is to organise love throughout the world. But there is much similar testimony.

An exponent of the Positivist philosophy writes that he finds very little practical difference between my expositions of truth and those approved by himself; and that one of my addresses might have been delivered by himself, without change, in the Church of Humanity. What does this show? Why, that religion is essentially one behind all its names; and that to organise love throughout the world should be an easy task. Many have been the forerunners preparing the way of the Lord of Love.

When I was privileged to address the members of the Sufi order, on the conclusion of my speech I was hailed as a genuine Sufi. Why? Again, because I spoke—not of the religions which divide, but—of the religion which unites, that is, the religion which sets out to organise love throughout the world.

A similar experience has attended me elsewhere.

When I have proclaimed religion among Theosophists, I have been enthusiastically proclaimed as a Theosophist.

So when I preached in the great temples of Reform Judaism in the United States, I was acclaimed as a true "Son of Israel." Why? Simply because my message was of the religion which is the essence of all the religions; in which therefore all recognise their own; proving that all have love and brotherhood at their hearts; and that it is possible to organise love throughout the world.

It was just the same when I worshipped with Indian Theists. My Universalism was seen to contain the essence of Brahmoism, and I was hailed as a brother Brahmo. Brahmoists in India have printed several of my utterances as expositions of their own principles and desire me to send more. Why do I say this—in the spirit of boasting? No, but that the grace of the Universal Spirit may be glorified in us; and to demonstrate to the slowest and least believing of hearts that the soul of the world is love, and that love is waiting to be organised from East to West, and from South to North.

It has not been otherwise within the borders of the Christian religion. How often have I been told that if what I was teaching was not Christianity, it was so much the worse for Christianity; but that it was, in sooth, the very essence of the religion of Jesus; because it was, in fact, the religion of love; of love organised throughout the world.

Enough! I consider the case proved.

All that remains is to justify Mrs. Browning's—and my own—preference for describing the spirit of light and love as "God's" light, and "God's" love.

If religion has its source in the human soul, then religion exists wherever the soul reaches up towards ideal perfection; which ideal perfection is God. The name given to ideal perfection is of no consequence whatever. But the human soul obviously had some Father-Mother, some Creator and Author; which some call Brahm, or Allah, or Jehovah; while others speak of Nature, or Law, or Evolution, or Life-force, or Cosmic Consciousness; but which many of us prefer to call God. The name is matterless. That talented Scotswoman, Lady Florence Dixie, searched about for a name to suit her own mind, and found it in "The Inscrutable." Very well, I have no objection. God is "The Inscrutable." Lady Dixie objected that the term God was "a short, podgy name, suitable only for those wooden and metal images worshipped by pagans and barbarians." The poet William Watson, in "The Unknown God," complains that he

". . . . must use a speech so poor It narrows the Supreme with sex."

Well might we say with Romeo's Juliet, What's in a name! Tennyson adores "The Nameless of the hundred names." In a Pacific storm a Japanese said he was not afraid, for Buddha was with him. "Christ was with me," says the Christian. "Allah was with me," says the Muslim. "God was with me," says the Theist. All mean the same thing. They mean

the goodness at the heart of things. They mean the universal Love, the Father-Motherhood by and in and through whom are all things, ever present in the mind and soul of humanity, whose being we have to make visible and effective in the institutions of religion and civilisation.

A great New Testament saying has it that "all things work together for good to them that love God." True. But it is also true that all who love God work together for good. The feeling of a universe whose source is love begets motives of love, so that we strive to project the love which is within us into deeds of love outside of us; into the edifice of love around us.

In closing let me remind you of the prophet testimony of John Ruskin, who loftily prophesied, "There is no wealth but life, life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." Yes, here is the true task of the patriot. In this country, and every country in the world, it is the great task of religion,—the task of so organising love as to nourish the greatest possible number of noble and happy human beings. To that end our religious system must be changed from a basis of sect to the basis of humanity. Our political system must be changed from a basis of fear and force to a basis of faith and love. Our commercial system must be changed from a basis of competition to a basis of co-operation. Our industrial system must be changed from a basis of wage-serfdom to a basis of copartnery; and these immense changes can be accom-

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plished only by the power of love; of God's love; of God's love organised.

This is our task. Let us be brave and strong to achieve it. Let us recall the words of that gallant discoverer, Commander Peary, when, after many attempts and failures, he at last reached the goal of his ambition, the North Pole. Writing of his sensations, he said, "As I watched the flag fluttering in the crisp air of the Pole, I thought of the twenty-three years of my life which I had spent in labouring towards the goal."

If a world-explorer thought himself well rewarded for twenty-three years of hazard and hardship by the discovery of a spot of frozen and fruitless land, how great should be our zeal who make for the Pole Star of a world made fruitful as the fabled Eden by the consecrated ingenuity of love.

Edwin Markham speaks the brave word,—
We men of earth have here the stuff
Of Paradise. We have enough!
We need no other things to build
The stairs into the Unfulfilled—
No other ivory for the doors,
No other marble for the floors,
No other cedar for the beam
And dome of man's immortal dream.
Here on the paths of every day—
Here on the common human way
Is all the busy gods would take
To build a heaven, to mould and make
New Edens. Ours the stuff sublime
To build eternity in time!

III A WORLD-CHARTER

"N connection with the "Day of Intercession," members of Christian Churches were recently invited to pray, amongst other things, for "the preparation of ourselves and our fellow-citizens for the tasks of the new time."

But since men could, for the most part, answer their own prayers, they would, in fact, be more usefully employed in working, rather than praying, for a better world. It is therefore incumbent upon me to show how we can set to work upon the "tasks of the new time"; and how best "prepare ourselves and our fellow-citizens" for their successful accomplishment.

I consider that I cannot discharge my responsibility better than by directing attention to three great constructive after-the-war schemes upon which our minds had better get to work with all diligence; and upon which, as a matter of fact, some of the most forward minds in the world are already at work, and indeed were at work long before the war. I refer to the projects for a World-Charter, a World-Centre, and a World-Conscience. First of all, let me briefly outline and commend a plan for the creation of a World-Charter.

At the very outset I am met by an objection which I cannot state better than in the words of a recent correspondent—the objection, namely, that there are people who "cannot admit that such things as . . . pacific international relations have anything religious about them . . . any religious movement should address itself to individual character."

If this correspondent were correct, the interceding Churches were all wrong; for they contemplated preparing themselves and their fellow-citizens for the tasks of the new time by religious exercises. I cannot admit that religion has to do only with individual character. I consider that religion has to apply itself to public as well as personal affairs. The moment religion says, "Love your neighbour," it becomes social, national, international, and has to do with the arrangements of society and the organisation of the world. The Jewish religion recognised that when it contemplated a Theocracy—that is, government according to the law of God. The Christian religion recognised it when it set about establishing a "kingdom." I cannot labour the point now. I content myself with submitting, in all respect, that the views of my correspondent seem to me to savour of pietism rather than piety; and to have their proper home in the monkish cell rather than "the world's broad field of battle."

Take, for motto, a phrase from Tennyson's wonderful and prophetic poem, *Locksley Hall*—"The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world."

More would I desire to have coined that phrase than to have built the pyramids. Few sayings of our time have sunk so deeply into the brain and heart of all ranks and classes of men. Few have been so influential. Few have been so formative, so inspiring, so alluring and educative to the ardent and progressive reformers of the last sixty years. Pulpit and platform and professor's chair have alike made that pictured goal the climax of their deliverances. It has

been equally at home in church and parliament; in socialist gatherings and trade union demonstrations; in college functions and youthful debating societies and peace congresses. All have found it the natural and sufficient formula by which to define their vision of the world's good future. I have heard it fall from the lip of culture, and roll from the mouth of labour with equal unction and conviction. In one dialect or another I have found it equally sweet and persuasivewhether expressed in fluent Welsh or rich Irish or rugged Scots or softer English. And why? Why this universal appeal? Why this immense vogue and popularity? Why this power to move all hearts and persuade all minds? By what chance or inspiration did the poet find this key to the general heart? By what instinct or magic did the poet's hand light on and pull out this thunderous stop in the grand organ of the human soul? You ask why? I will tell you why. It was because the poet was sensitive to feel the thrill of the Time-spirit and responsive to express its import in the passionate language of poetic genius. It was because even then—even so far away as the date of Locksley Hall now is-the Time-spirit was stirring the soul of man to seek a way of escape from the anarchy of nations to a World-realm of order and law and peaceful striving and worthy emulation in the humane arts. It was because to Tennyson was given the insight to interpret and the genius to express the message of his age—the message which, generations before then, had been coming to consciousness in the soul of the world—the message which, since then, has leaped out of the World-soul

flamingly conscious of itself, demanding to be incorporated in the religious and political movements of the modern world. It was the message suggested to the delighted mind by the music of an earlier poet—Dryden—and he but a later echo of a yet earlier and stronger-voiced singer of Israel—who yearned and trembled to feel

The people's prayer, the glad diviner's theme, The young men's vision and the old men's dream.

Of that prayer and theme, of that vision and dream the World-Charter is a direct product. The particular form of it which I have in mind, and which has come directly out of the furnace of the present war, is that formulated by Paul Otlet, the distinguished Internationalist. It is the World-Charter connected with his name I would desire to commend to your study. I cannot in this address describe it, except in barest outline.

I have already indicated that the present scheme does not stand alone. It is connected with the past, and grows out of the past. There were brave men before Agamemnon. So there were pioneers before Otlet. We recall the great names of Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist, and the giant hand with which he endeavoured to lay a foundation of law amid the weltering anarchy of the nations;—of Henry IV. of France and his minister the Duke of Sully, and the Abbé St. Pierre, who conceived and set forth "The Great Design" of a united Europe; of Immanuel Kant, who propounded his mighty plan for securing "perpetual peace."

So also must we connect the World-Charter with those numerous movements—congresses, arbitration treaties, international courts—which have their mighty symbol in the First and Second Hague Congresses, and which have raised the international question to the first rank among the concerns of mankind. On the back of all these came the great war.

But this World-Charter has nothing to do with the war. One must keep that perfectly clear. It has to do with the peace which is to follow the war. That is now the most important question which can occupy the mind of man. The boldest of us might almost be forgiven the wish to die rather than face the task of constructing the new world which must rise out of the ruins of the old. Listen to the words of a powerful writer describing the period which we are now about to confront:

The new period will be a hard, an iron one—a period of blown-up bridges and broken bonds. It is no use indulging in self-deception and illusions. Can it be expected that the world should become gentler and more harmless after this most terrible of all wars? That the nations should, on the conclusion of peace, lay aside the hatred and the bitterness which they have stored up in their hearts against one another, in the same manner as actors do their masks? Will any treaties bind anybody? No; when the nations awake once more they will find between them mountains of corpses, devastated countries, ruined cities, annihilated prosperityin short, an impoverished and a shattered world. And this world, shaken to its very foundations, will yet tremble for many a day, and for many days to come there will be no question of a real peace. Be the victory never so complete, another and no less strenuous struggle will begin afresh. New difficult problems will arise, new and grave dangers and temptations will appear.

There are two possible ways in which peace may be sought in that "impoverished and shattered world." There may be a treaty in which the victor will impose his terms on the vanquished, without discussion, as the diplomats think fit according to their narrow views and short sight. That may be described as peace through force, and as providing only a breathing-space for yet deadlier and more appalling struggles. That is evidently the way anticipated by the foreboding writer I have just quoted. That way madness lies.

The other way is peace by agreement, arrived at by a World-Congress constituted of belligerents and neutrals alike. The business of such a congress would be to consider how to get furthest away from the dread possibility of worse things, and with that view to proceed to the settlement of the vast political and economic questions involved in the better ordering of human affairs. For such a congress of all States there are good precedents, but if there were none it would be the world's duty to create one. Clearly understand that this has no reference to immediate peace terms, which is an earlier and entirely separate question. The World-Charter has nothing to do with the settlement of peace terms as between the belligerent governments. It has to do with the wider and larger question of the settlement of the whole world on a peace basis, organised for peace through a charter declaring the rights of humanity, organising the union of States, and setting forth the necessary provisions in a solemn league and covenant which shall take precedence of all national constitutions, and include all the legitimate interests common to man-

kind. That is a task which must continue long after the immediate question of peace terms has been disposed of.

But even with a World-Charter we have not yet reached the World-State. It is necessary to understand that the World-Charter does not contemplate or even suggest one vast World-State, which is an inference only too likely to be made, to the prejudice of the whole scheme. It does not proceed by amalgamation.

The World-Charter is perfectly Tennysonian. It proposes a simple federation of States. "The federation of the world." It would constitute a society of nations, a sisterhood of the peoples. The union would indeed be a world-wide one, extending to all States without distinction, and including all their possessions, colonies, and protectorates; but the individual States would continue to exist as independent, self-governing nations, except in so far as their sovereignty should be limited by the supernational authority established under the Charter; even as it is now limited by treaties, and such elementary law as exists between States.

The plan lends itself to quite simple and practical explanation, so that mistake is impossible. I have spoken of the pioneers who proposed the creation of a federated group which might be called The United States of Europe. Already we have the United States of America. An American has greatly said that to its Declaration of Independence his country must add a Declaration of Interdependence. The step to The United States of the World appears therefore to be a comparatively small one.

It is the child's first step which is the miracle and the wonder to its mother. All the million steps of a long after life will not be so wonderful as that first step; though they will be productive of far more practical results. Now then, we see that the child Humanity has taken the first step towards the United States of the World; it has even taken other steps; yea, it has even been advancing towards the goal, and is now conscious of its great aim.

Just think of the strides already taken. The Hague Congresses and the International Court of Arbitration are not the only steps. Let me remind you of the Parliamentary Union numbering twelve thousand of the members of the various constitutional countries. Think of the two hundred or more Arbitration treaties already in existence. Think of the Universal Postal, Telegraph, and Wireless Telegraph Unions, with their growing international vocabulary. The internationalising of transport both by land and sea was well on its way when the war broke out, and the process must be resumed. So with the standardising of weights and measures. International agencies for the preservation of health and the stamping out of plagues have come into existence. Scientific research has also become largely international. Charts, signalling, and the rule of the road on the high seas are international. International Congresses on all conceivable subjects and for all conceivable purposes have been organised. As has been wittily said, a new preposition has crept into common use-the preposition "inter." It has given us such words as "inter-communication," "inter-dependence," "inter-state," "inter-

national," "inter-religious," "inter-racial." Better still, the words stand for great and growing realities. We may be said to have developed even a kind of "interpatriotism." Inter-patriotism may be described as the love of all countries; the love, say, of the countries of the world federated as a grand sisterhood under the World-Charter. The federated nations will look, not on their own things, but on the things of one another. They will provoke one another to nothing save love and good works. For that World-patriotism has Thomas Hardy sighed in his poem "Departure"—

When shall the saner softer polities
Whereof we dream, have play in each proud land,
And patriotism, grown Godlike, scorn to stand
Bondslave to realms, but circle earth and seas?

Now then, may we not argue from that which is to that which may be? If so much is already accomplished, may not the whole be accomplished? What insuperable obstacle is there in the way of a World-Charter constituting a juridical union of States, with a supernational authority; and guaranteeing the rights of man, the rights of peoples, the rights of religions and churches, the rights of international associations, the rights of social groups, the rights of States the world over? No such obstacle exists. On the contrary. From the international measures already concerted, it is an easy gradient to an international budget with an international bank; to international free trade; to international culture adequately financed; to an international press subject to penalties for the crime of national slander and strife-provoking; to an international flag flying over an international Capital

or World-Centre! It is of that World-Centre I shall treat in my next address.

Difficulties, does one say? Why yes, difficulties of course! But not insuperable difficulties. Can the ingenuity of man not go higher yet? I am sure it can. A very slight exercise of imagination and faith in,—I will not say God, but,—man will convince any doubter that there is nothing inherently difficult in the establishment of a legislative power consisting of delegates from the national parliaments, and representatives of other great economic and intellectual interests; and of a judicial power exercising the functions of mediation, conciliation, judgment and arbitration; and of an executive power directing and administering World-interests within the limits of the law.

The logical and thorough-going mind of M. Otlet adds a fourth power, which he describes as a "sanctioning" power, by which he means a military power to enforce world-law; an international army formed from the national armies, and directed by a central general staff.

I wish regretfully to say that, personally, I cannot hold with that proposition. To me, and many more, the value of a World-Charter would be precisely that it rendered any form of war unnecessary and impossible. It is impossible here to argue this big question which divides the ranks of reformers. I have heard and read many discussions of it, and believe I know most that can be said on both sides. I can only here say that the evils of war would not be less evil though sanctioned by a super-national authority. An international army to enforce peace would be merely one more army added to those

national armies which already existed. It is difficult to see how an additional army could lead to the disbanding of armies, or even to any general measure of disarmament. The proposition may be defended as a paradox; but it can also be attacked as a blunder of the first magnitude. Unless there is to be a new spirit we dare not hope for much from new methods. On this point, no doubt, M. Otlet expects divergence, and invites discussion, which he will get in plenty, beyond any doubt. I leave it there.

There is so much that is great and hopeful in the project that one is glad to point it out. There is the neutralisation of the air, for example, and of the high seas, and of the African continent. Here is a sensible reduction of war's possibilities and horrors.

Before we reject such a scheme as this, we must ask ourselves, What are the alternatives? Practically, there are only two. The first is a despotism, calling itself "benevolent" of course, as despotisms always do. This necessarily and inevitably leads to struggles for supremacy, for empire, and to the effort to make such empire universal, with a continual succession of rebellions and bloody arbitraments. It is, in fact, the old struggle for hegemony—the compelling cause, beyond doubt, of the present war. But the hope of imperialism is now shattered both by land and sea. By that proud and gory path the human race will never be saved.

Then there is the system of the "balance of power," which prevailed up to the outbreak of war, and which the war has also finally discredited and disposed of. The conditions of modern civilisation now make such an equilibrium impossible.

There remains only the "more excellent way" of arrangement and order and law and the supremacy of reason. It is the organisation of love, as I have already pointed out. The happiness of mankind can be advanced and secured only in proportion as some such international arrangement as the World-Charter is devised. Certain types of mind may be repelled by the boldness of M. Otlet's scheme. To me its boldness is its recommendation. Proposals less comprehensive and radical appear more likely to fail. Europe is past tinkering. Asia is a brooding and mysterious potentiality of tragedy. Africa is a savage possibility. It seems to me that international organisation has advanced so far, that the safest course is to go straight on and complete the process by some such scheme as I have roughly presented.

O ye of little faith, wherefore do ye doubt! In 1896 that distinguished Chinaman, Li Hung Chang, wrote in his diary, "There are always wolves where there are sheep. It is the same in the life of man and the lives of nations." But he was wrong, as the pessimist and the unbeliever generally is. It is not true that there are always wolves where there are sheep. In civilised countries there are many sheep but no wolves. Wolves disappear before civilisation. In like manner will the wolf of war disappear before law and order and the organisation of human brotherhood. The death which now reddens the sea and darkens the air and makes Europe a charnel-house is branding arguments for reason and law upon the very soul and brain of mankind. The public opinion of the world may be expected to rise like a giant out of

nightmare, and demand a rational way of adjusting human differences.

As I have pointed out, many secondary measures have already formed themselves spontaneously in the direction of universal organisation. It only needs to extend somewhat that which already exists, and focus it in some central organisation such as the World-Charter seeks to establish. We need but the will to organise on the basis of reason and on the basis of love, according to the social law so finely commended by Emerson in the last paragraph of his essay on "Politics." The powers and materials we already have. Social evolution is moving in that direction. The soul of Humanity is travelling in that direction. As we have it from that Scotsman born in Germany— Immanuel Kant—nature herself guarantees the coming of perpetual peace, through the natural course of human propensities. That mighty psychologist—that profound and unprejudiced student of human nature and human affairs—argued from nature's guarantee to human duty; since what was within the guarantee of nature could not be a chimera. We have but to lend ourselves to the superior agencies to find ourselves almost spontaneously at the goal.

Upon leaders of thought and action lies a heavy responsibility. It is theirs to rouse and educate public opinion, and direct it towards permanent World-peace.

I know that there are many who fear what they describe as a false and inconclusive peace. The instinct is a sound one. The fear is natural and justifiable. But what is the surest way to secure a peace which shall be sincere and lasting? Is it not the way

of international co-operation? Is it not the way of universal agreement and law and order? Any peace must be false and inconclusive which does not lead to the setting up of international machinery for the better regulation of human affairs. It is the noble task of men and women of good-will to create that body of opinion which will be sufficient to effect the necessary transformations, and to influence and support governments in the work of positive construction.

O, man of the world, "practical man" as you are vain to describe yourself, dismiss not this noble effort with the elusive and easy word "Utopian"! All known and settled lands were once undiscovered and "Utopian." All accomplished things were once deemed impossible and "Utopian." But the lands were discovered and settled. The deeds were done. The creation of a World-Charter is a project which should eminently commend itself to the "practical man." It is nothing more than an enlargement of national arrangements already familiar to us and in working order. It makes no essential innovation. It does little more than project the national beyond the frontier into the international. Is it not unscientific and impractical to act as if the existing stage were the final one? We must follow the path of sociological development. The world is driving onward towards the goal, and we must follow it; we must at least get out of its way, or it will roll over us and destroy us. The existing dislocation of all earthly things is an imperious call for us to arise and effect that definite readjustment which will make peace settled and secure for ever.

To you who tremble lest we finish only with a

premature, false and inconclusive peace—to you I call! The time is ripe and rotten-ripe for change! You desire a peace which shall be timely and sincere and enduring? Then arise and think! Arise and act! We have taken the sword to slay: Now let us take the trowel and build!

Say that we dream! Our dreams have woven

Truths that outface the burning sun:
The lightnings, that we dreamed, have cloven
Time, space, and linked all lands in one!
Dreams! But their swift celestial fingers
Have knit the world with threads of steel,
Till no remotest island lingers
Outside the world's great Commonweal.

Dreams, are they? But ye cannot stay them,
Or thrust the dawn back for one hour!

Truth, Love, and Justice, if ye slay them,
Return with more than earthly power:
Strive, if ye will, to seal the fountains
That send the Spring thro' leaf and spray;
Drive back the sun from the Eastern mountains,
Then—bid this mightier movement stay.

It is the Dawn! The Dawn! The nations
From East to West have heard a cry—
Through all earth's blood-red generations
By hate and slaughter climbed thus high,
Here—on this height—still to aspire,
One only path remains untrod,
One path of love and peace climbs higher,
Make straight that highway for our God.
ALFRED NOYES.

ITIES are the visible symbols of civilisation. Cities are the growing and culminating result of man's struggle against the elemental forces of the natural world. They register nature's continuous surrender to her children's demand for shelter, food, society, safety, comfort and beauty.

The history of cities is the history of the human advance towards the flying goal of religion, science and the arts. It is the story of man's associated efforts. It is the record of man's constructive genius. It is a diary whose days are centuries—the diary of man's rise from savage individualism through family and tribal life to the multitudinous fellowship of great nations, and finally to that "federation of the world" which is its now glimmering consummation.

Since that dim day when the nomads of Shinar, under Nimrod their chief, paused in their wanderings and said, "Go to, let us build us a city"—the social instinct has expressed itself in cities more and more populous, more and more costly, more and more strongly fortified and defended.

The monumental cities of the world form the letters which spell out the age-long story. So are the monumental books, or pages of books; of which I might point out two examples,—Whitman's "Great City," and the "New Jerusalem" of John the divine.

In John's vision of the unseen things, he beheld the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God

out of heaven; having light as of a clear jasper; with twelve foundations and twelve gates, every gate one pearl; the walls of jasper; the city of pure gold like unto clear glass; - "And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it." You will tell me that was only a subjective vision; that it was all in the mind of the seer himself. Granted: but that it was therefore devoid of reality does not follow. Supposing the seer—as is most probable—had actual knowledge of Athens and Alexandria and Rome and Jerusalem, we have but to infer that he permitted his faculties of imagination and faith, of poetry and prophecy to play upon the civic structures in which Greece and Egypt and Rome and Judea had embodied earth's growing conceptions of art and learning, of law and religion; and, further, that he involuntarily projected his mind into the future, and drew the sublime inference that grander cities would yet arise, visualising the wider victories and the nobler ideals of generations yet unborn.

If, in thought, we could transport ourselves backwards and stand by his side on that lone isle, we might, as from a peninsula in the sea of time, throw our minds forward to our own age; yea, to ages yet more distant, and behold the materialisation of the vision. As from their towers of observation astronomers sweep the heavens through their telescopes and bring into view stars and suns and systems and clustered lights and flying glories quite invisible to the naked eye, yet none the less real, none the less active, none the less subject to the reign of law, none the less kin to the earth and related to the life of man—so we

might in spirit behold the increase of mankind in intelligence, in purpose, in direction, in power, in mutuality of helpfulness and love, till our delight broke bounds in the ecstatic certainty of Walt Whitman, "There the great city stands!"

It is of just such a city I am now to tell; a city which has been conceived in the brain of a living man, who has reduced his idea to physical dimensions, and embodied it in the ground-plans and architectural drawings of a great city designed to constitute a World-Centre, to be the head-quarters of the human family in all those matters which are essential to human well-being.

The name of this apostle of civilisation is Hendrick Christian Andersen, who, from the ancient city of Rome carries forward a cultured and influential and world-wide propaganda for the creation of a new city which shall be a worthy symbol and organ of a higher and more humane order than was the case with the cities of the old world.

The idea of this apostolic man is to create a World-Centre of Communication of which we may say that it literally fulfils the vision of the Seer of Patmos, since "they shall bring the honour and glory of the nations into it." The scheme is so wide in its scope and so detailed in its plans as to defy description in any utterance that is possible on this occasion. One knows not which to wonder at more—the vast and comprehensive design of it, or the elaborate detail. One is bewildered where to commence a description of that which seems to hold out no prospect of an end. Such a cursory glance as our

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limits compel must be regarded as an invitation to enquire, not an attempt to delineate.

The splendidly audacious plan is nothing less than this,-to persuade the nations of the earth to select and set apart as neutral ground-belonging to none in particular in order that it may more peculiarly be the portion of all-some sufficient section of the earth's surface, and to erect thereon a mighty civic home of international interests; a hive of international activities; a head-quarters of international thought and purpose, and of such universal projects as are seen to be of vital import to the entire human family. The particular spot of earth to be so signally honoured is a matter to be determined by general consent, by geographical and historical considerations: --- Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, France, The Riviera, San Stefano, Rome, The United States, all have their peculiar qualities of fitness.

Such a scheme represents an endeavour to meet the unrealised feeling and demand for harmonious relations between the different nations and peoples of the earth, to provide a meeting-place for all, a place of interchange, a general centre of communication. Here would all the common interests of mankind be centralised and housed; and the best that was thought and known and done would be taught and displayed for the general good. Science would here be presented in its universal aspects; so would religion and art and industry and physical culture and education and politics, and everything that was proper to the highest life of mankind. In the belief that friendship between nations may take the place of

enmity, it is proposed to consecrate one great spot of earth to the friendly association and interchange of all peoples, to register their gains and combine their efforts so as to make possible those further advances which are embraced in the hopes of all good men and women.

What a mighty advance is here made upon the earlier efforts of the striving race of men! There are those who affect to question the real progress of the human race, pointing to this failure or that defect as evidence that life is nothing but a see-saw, now up, now down, now forward, now backward, but maintaining a pretty even course throughout its strange, eventful history. But if we open the book of the pioneers and read of their earlier strivings, we shall find that the city of their dreams was always a limited and a tribal one; that it was always to be a place of defence against enemies who in like manner had their walled and fenced cities as bulwarks of defence against other supposed enemies. There was no dream of a universal city, except through military conquest or spiritual domination. Every such dream in ancient times presupposed the political subordination or the spiritual submission of those who did not belong to the favoured race and the chosen people.

But the modern man's sober proposal goes far beyond the earlier man's most delirious dream. In cool blood, and as a business proposition, he proposes a grander and richer civic creation than any the world contains; he leaves it unwalled, unfenced, undefended, without forts or battlements, or munitions of war; and as evidence of his sincerity and his faith in the

practicability of his plan, he calls in the most able architects, and spends many years of life in producing the designs, and submitting them to the judgment of the world's most practical workers and men of affairs, who in hundreds, from every civilised nation under heaven, have testified their appreciation and approval. I submit that the universality of the conception and the practicalness of the method manifest a prodigious advance upon the hopes and plans of the ancient world. To the ancients, the world was a house of many apartments, divided from each other by walls of iron, defended against each other by such machinery of fear and distrust and hate as each age permitted, and having little communication except that which was expressed in war and mutual destruction. To the modern man the world has become a single-roomed house, inhabited by the races of mankind as a single family. And he sees no real difficulty in the realisation of his idea. Assuredly not. It is the idea itself which is the difficulty. Once the idea comes to birth in the mind of a thinker, its materialisation is only a matter of time. I know that the pushful man of affairs is apt to dismiss such projects as mere moonshine. He will curtly wave the World-Centre aside as nothing but a dream-city, a phantom of imagination, a vanishing mirage. And yet I think I can see that even that type of mind is coming round to see the utility of such projects, the utility of the ideal, if I may so put it. Let me give a concrete instance.

Some years ago, when visiting the city of Chicago, I had the honour of being invited to a public luncheon where an exhibition of limelight views was to be given

by a leading architect. The function took place in the largest and richest hall of a great hotel. The views consisted of architectural designs for the town-planning of Chicago, which would make it practically a new city. I afterwards inspected the original plans and drawings on the walls of one of the civic exhibitions. The scheme was to take long years, perhaps generations, to complete, and was to cost untold millions of dollars. Yet it was received and discussed with favour; as a possible thing; even as a quite practical thing; yes, even as a necessary thing. That impressed me as a very significant circumstance. Here were some hundreds of the busiest men in one of the busiest cities of the world, come together in the middle of the business day, willing to spend a couple of hours in considering how to make their city a place healthful and beautiful to live in; and willing to face the prospect of great cost to themselves in the carrying through of the scheme. Oh no! let it not be said that the romantic spirit has fled from the human breast. Let it not be said that poetry has perished. Let it not be said that heroism is dead. Let it not be said that the flowers of human nature have all withered. Believe it not! It is a false and hollow creed. Believe it, and die! Reject it, and live! Not alone in the exploits and sacrifices of war does the divine soul of humanity express itself, but also in the ardours and enthusiasms and unselfish abandonments of peace.

Well, I argue from Chicago to the World-Centre. The same motives and feelings which would prompt the citizens of a single city to rebuild it more healthfully and more magnificently, would move the citizens

of the world to create a World-Capital to be the centre and headquarters of its greatest interests, and the clearing-house of its most important concerns.

Who that has followed thus far does not desire to know more of this wonderful project? But in so short a space such eager enquirers can be gratified only a very little way. The plans may lie on the table while one writes, but it is impossible for one to describe them.

Here is a vast monumental area planned in detail like the heart of the world, to which the vital powers would flow from the uttermost circumference of the earth, and be sent back again enriched and strengthened to inform and quicken the furthest continent and islands of the sea. Grouped along and around a broad avenue, surrounded by a navigable canal, I see a harmony in stone of all the great interests and concerns of mankind. Here is a science centre, there an art centre, yonder a physical culture centre. On one side is a vast World court of justice, on another a World university, on another a World library, in yet another a World bank or clearing house. There are great buildings and offices devoted to agriculture and medicine and law and invention and industry and music and drama and hygiene and Olympic culture and an international Press. Here also is a temple of religions, a universal temple; and a vast World-conscience building. Beyond, stretching away into the distance, are the residential and industrial and transport districts of the city.

Such, in briefest outline, is the proposed great city, to build which is considered by not a few to be

one of the after-the-war tasks, as one of the imperative reconstructions demanded by the new time. Demanded also by our children, to whom we owe some reparation for the ruined estate we are handing down to them. Demanded as some compensation for the immense suffering and loss this erring generation has inflicted upon the unborn innocents.

To suggest questions of cost, really, is almost grotesque, in view of the immeasurable wealth which is now being poured out from Boulogne to Bagdad, and from the Nile to the North Sea. Magnificent as the design is in scope and outline, it is probable that one Dreadnought from each of the nations of the world would cover the cost One week of Europe's war would cover it. I venture to suggest that if for every pound of war expenditure the nations were to set apart a single penny for a World-Centre—a penny for a pound—they would be repaid by the creation of a city that would beggar the dreams of all city-builders from Nimrod to Alexander, and would outshine the combined splendours of Constantinople and Paris and London. Impossible, you say! May be, yet awhile, seeing we are what we are. But I present it to you as the scheme of a sagacious man who has put his whole life and all he has into it. Such an idea and such an offering is not to be lightly dismissed.

Lately, I came across a letter written by a nurse from a French hospital; the nurse being a woman of culture and literary ability. Here is her cry of anguish. Listen! "As I patrol my huge dormitory I curse, and curse, and curse—not only our enemies

(that were too easy a task for the tragic impulses that possess me), but still more the general conditions of European society that has left us without any nobler method of settling our differences but that of general torture and destruction!" There in that French hospital that strong-souled woman realised what a hell-broth man's stupidity had prepared for himself to sup.

"I curse—and curse—and curse!"

Well, the large-minded author of this scheme is one who would put an end to the nurse's curse by putting an end to the conditions which bring about such "general torture and destruction." He would put an end to those conditions which tend to the destruction of human life and treasure, and introduce conditions which tend to the guardianship of life and treasure. He considers that this war has shown no nation to be selfsufficient; that no longer by isolation, but only by collaboration can the nations of the earth be secure. In other words, patriotism is bankrupt; has broken down; has shown that it can no longer afford security. Patriotism must now lose itself in a larger unity. Love of country must merge into love of humanity; and of that love the World-Centre would be the most majestic and impressive symbol. By the very force of nature the peoples of the earth will continue to grow and expand; and since to kill them off is the stupidest and most disgusting of all methods for disposing of surplus populations, it is evident that the nations cannot escape recurring and ever fiercer conflicts except by combining in such general efforts

and ends as will cause them to move with one another in concert, instead of against one another in conflict. It is now demonstrated that under modern conditions military preparations cannot protect the individual State; and therefore the combination of States has to be substituted for the competition of States. Such combination necessitates for its highest expression a World-Centre of Communication; a World-Capital for the discussion and administering of the united interests and common ends of the human race.

Supposing, for example, the nations were to take advantage of existing circumstances to create the historic and beautiful city of Constantinople a neutral, or international zone—the meeting-point of three great continents; the geographical bond between East and West; the sea-port for free communication with all the world—is it not clear that the races of the earth would at once rise into the consciousness of a new headship, a new unity, a new fraternity, and a new peace? The neutralising of Constantinople, with the waters around it, could be accomplished without dispossessing any people of its territory or nationality. In such a World-Capital, the World-Charter drafted by M. Paul Otlet would be fittingly promulgated and administered. It is certain there never will be world-peace as long as the existing State anarchy continues. We may preach disarmament till the crack of doom, but it is certain that States will not disarm until some sure way of peace and safety is adopted by the human race as a whole. M. Otlet's World-Charter administered in Mr. Andersen's World-Capital offers the necessary substitute, by providing

the machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Such a World-Centre would indeed be a city of refuge from the furies of war.

In ancient Hebrew tradition we read that when the children of Israel divided the Promised Land, they appointed six cities which they called cities of refuge. When one man killed another, whether by accident or intent, the slayer might flee to the nearest city of refuge and be safe till the elders of the city decided his innocence or guilt. For those were the days of the blood-feud; and the next of kin could slay him if overtaken before he reached the gate of the city of refuge. Behind him was the avenger of blood, but before was the city of refuge!

Is it not a miniature of the vaster blood-shed of the modern world, and the vengeance which must overtake that world unless it flees to some city of refuge and is safe? It needs but little imagination to see the avenger of blood pressing close on the heels of blood-stained Europe, which now begins to realise that it must go and sin no more, for so a worse thing will come upon it.

Not long ago, a sad book was published bearing the picturesque title, "The People who run." The title is, I believe, English for a single Russian word. The people who run are the hapless refugees who seek safety in Russia; but we may equally apply the words to the wretched and unfortunate refugees from the other little countries, the number of whom has cruelly increased as the war has rolled on its devastating way. From the workshops of Belgium and the farmsteads of Poland; from the seaports of the Baltic

and the plains of Lithuania and the valleys of Transylvania; from Serbia and Montenegro and Galicia, they have run, they have run, seeking refuge from the demons of the battle-field. Towards France and Russia and Switzerland and Italy they have run, they have run—The People who run—decimated, impoverished and despoiled, disabled, diseased, starved, bereaved, sick, mad—they have run, they have staggered, they have dropped the dead babe from their arms, they have themselves dropped dead in their tracks; or the blood-feud has overtaken them in their flight, and the gates of the cities of refuge were far away.

"O, horrible! O, horrible! most horrible!"

Yet before my mental vision I see a vaster horror still. I see the avenger of blood in pursuit of the people who made the people run. Everywhere I see the avenger of blood at the heels of this helterskelter of warring nations. I see him in the garb of poverty and disease, of demoralisation and depopulation, of distress and devilment and death in a thousand unspeakable forms—hot, hot upon the heels of all those peoples whose evil policies made the people run!

But before them all I see rising the spires and towers of the city of refuge. Let them turn aside from their wild career of mutual slaughter. Let them lay deep and broad the foundations of a city of peace. Let them rear the shining walls of the World-Capital. Let them bring forth the copestone with shoutings of Grace, Grace unto it! Let them adorn it with their most precious arts, fill it with their most triumphant music, sanctify it with their most equitable laws, consecrate it with their purest religion, dedicate it to the widest

and truest human brotherhood, and devote it to the sublime ministries of perpetual peace.

Let them bring the glory and honour of the nations

into it!

Then will the races of men turn their faces towards it from the four quarters of the globe, and hail it with awestruck and delighted accents.—There the great city stands!

Among the most beautiful of the ancient myths are those which set forth the building of the walls of

the great cities of Thebes and Troy.

When Apollo had invented the lyre, so sweetcompelling were its notes that the very stones moved in enchanted response, and built themselves up to be the walls of the mighty Trojan capital.

When Amphion sought to build the walls of the hundred-gated Thebes, he received from Hermes a harp which not only charmed the stones into motion, but whirled them into harmonies of place till the

encircling walls were complete.

We are reminded of those legends of the Mother-Age when we plan to Rebuild the World, and to rear a vast World-City as its Centre and Capital. When the god of war has completed his destructions, we must summon the gods of harmony to restore the arts and architectures of civilised men. The strains of Hermes and Apollo and Amphion have passed away like the sighing breeze over windy Troy; but new chords are struck, and diviner cities rise. Mightier is the music of love and brotherhood, of unity and peace which is beginning to sweep through the bosom of Humanity, in delighted harmony with which will rise a World Rebuilt, with a World-Capital set like a gem upon its bosom.

HAVE now shown the practicability of a World-Charter promulgated and administered in a World-Centre. Let us admire the greatness of that human nature which can conceive such ideas and plan such measures! If it was a great thing for Thomas Jefferson to frame the Declaration of Independence, which was virtually the first draft of the Constitution of the United States, it is a greater thing for Paul Otlet to frame a Charter of the United States of the World, and for Hendrick Christian Andersen to plan a World-Capital as the head-quarters of the federated nations.

Yet to-day I declare a greater thing still: I declare the advent of a World-conscience. Without a Worldconscience the wisest and most comprehensive World-Charter were nothing but a "scrap of paper"! Without a World-conscience the most noble and beautiful city—John's New Jerusalem itself—were no better than a slum.

If we turn to ancient books for illustration, we find a parallel in the prophet Jeremiah. He also spoke of new cities; but they could be inhabited only by people with new hearts. Before they were fit to build and fit to inhabit such cities they needed to have the divine law put in their inward parts and written in their hearts. When the moral law came to be universally honoured and obeyed—when all of them knew the Lord, from the least of them to the greatest of them, then the city would be built. Not till then.

For, as I have indicated, cities are a true reflex of

man's inward condition. We can accurately gauge the depth and quality of human nature at any particular stage of its development by the cities it builds. In other words, the city corresponds to the citizen. The civic edifice is a projection of the civic soul. And he who takes a believing survey of human society, even in this tragic hour, will be forced to the conclusion that the soul of humanity is making for a greater social unity; that the international spirit is seeking an international centre as the expression of its inward unity. We shall be encouraged to set apart a portion of the earth's space to the city of peace in proportion as we believe that peace is coming into the soul of man.

Some centuries ago, in the Scots city of Dundee, flourished a great town-clerk who, when inscribing his name and style in the city records, added this much more in the Latin tongue,—inspired as it would seem by classic reminiscences of Epictetus on the one hand, and democratic anticipations of Walt Whitman on the other,—

"If it be thy design to ornament the City by thy gifts, be thou thyself dedicated, in the first place, to whatsoever is loveliest, and of Clemency, Justice, and Beneficence thou shalt raise aloft the best and most memorable monument within the Republic, not merely an inconsiderable building. For if Reason should rule in cities, it is better certainly for great souls to inhabit small houses than for mean slaves to lurk in magnificent mansions:—The Euboeans and Spartans did not build and repair their walls with stones only, but with Discipline and Zeal for Good

Morals, which are the visible ornaments alike of cities and of rulers. Flourishing, truly, and peaceful they made the Republic, by uniting together, not logs and stones, but living souls."

Yes; that is the true music of the gods, whereby the Republic of Man will be built up.

If we ask ourselves what is the guarantee of a better future for the human race, we must answer that it consists in living souls, and a better conscience. There can be no new order without a new spirit. A new life requires a new idea of life. Things change for man in obedience to the changes in his consciousness. It is true that mind operates on material things very slowly, but it is the only thing that operates at all. Therefore the great ethical demand of religion is for a change of heart. Ye must be born again. Ye must become new creatures. The most superb structures and institutions are of no value except as they index a noble state of human idealism. Men must first reform their characters; then they will be able to reform their institutions. When character deteriorates, the grandest monuments of civilisation fall to pieces.

The peculiar horror of this war is due to the fact that our external achievements had outrun our moral character. Hence the things we made turned and fell upon us. Our material advance had outpaced our spiritual; and therefore our material things fell before a declaration of war, and now lie in ruins across the face of Europe. In the recent words of a distinguished scientist, it would appear as if the Supreme Power were reproaching us, "I have given you a beautiful

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world, an intellect capable of fathoming the stars, a capacity for god-like virtues, and men of genius to guide you; but all you do is to cut each other's throats in the mire."

For, let us remind ourselves that crime does not exist apart from the mind of the criminal. A simple truth is it not, easily learned, but easily forgotten? Yet how true! how necessary for our guidance! The writer whom I have just quoted, declares in the same place-the review of Science Progress-that this war is primarily due to the intellectual crimes of humanity, and therefore it has now become our punishment. The mind of man appears to have outrun his morals, so that he has become a kind of intellectual monster who creates only to destroy. The wonderful fabric of civilisation he reared up in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, and of which he was so vain, has toppled over on him, and all but buried him in its ruins. He had no moral strength to sustain his intellectual pyramid. His things have got into the saddle, and ride him. As the passing of Arthur was accompanied by sore pangs of mind because he now found that he had "but smitten with the sword in vain," and that all his "realm reels back into the beast, and is no more,"-so defeated, and in such moral ruin, does the Republic of European Culture now find itself.

How could it be otherwise? In the phrasing of the old psalm, we have followed after vanities and gone after leasing (lying). We have been going further and further from the love of truth, and nothing but ill could come of it. The most afflicting impression

of my lifetime for many years has been the neverabsent feeling that nearly everybody around me was content and happy with any kind of pretence and sham and counterfeit and excuse for anything and everything; for any unjust policy of State or any untrue dogma of religion; provided only it enabled them the more easily to lead the pleasurable kind of life they wanted to live; provided only the lie was comfortable and convenient, enabling State or church to turn awkward corners with some show of plausibility. Therefore the terrific things that belong to that sort of mind have come upon them according to the graphic Christian scripture—"Upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."

I have just been communing with a man who told me that the most bewildering feeling he had in these abnormal times, was the feeling of unreality. He felt, he told me, like a man walking in a land of shadows, vexed with vain dreams, deceived by appearances, confused by mists and wraiths and vapours, cheated by voices, mocked by echoes. He could hardly feel sure of anything or anybody. The world seemed to be an illusion, given over to deception and the father of lies, to whose family he and the rest of us all belonged. He did not know whom to believe, or what to believe. The world seemed full of lies and liars. Everybody seemed to be lying to every other body. The nations shouted lies to one another. The military people lied to mislead their enemies. The newspapers

lied to mislead the public and to prove the others to be liars. The diplomatists lied to make out their case. The preachers lied to back up the politicians and keep themselves in the main stream. He seemed, he told me, to be walking in an atmosphere of falsehood, to be breathing falsehood, to be taking falsehood in at ear and eye and lung; so that he came to wonder, like a man in nightmare, whether he were not himself thinking and speaking falsehood. He thought he was sure of God; but he could not feel sure of anybody, not even himself. "And," said he, "that state of mind, spread throughout Europe and the world, appears to me to be more horrible than any of the more material horrors of the time." He concluded by quoting the terrible words of the weeping prophet, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means; and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

I have mentioned religion. Let me ask this question—Has the religion of Europe shown itself to be a sustaining and ennobling power in this general crash of civilisation? I venture to reply in the negative. Not only did the religion of Europe fail to keep it out of war, but it has not availed to prevent it sinking lower and lower into the depths of bestiality and barbarism. It is the function of religion to inspire men with pity and the fear of God; but now, with the utmost shamelessness, those very motives are disavowed, and religion speaks no word, or speaks but to approve. Far be it from me to dispute the sincerity and power of religion in the souls of many indi-

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viduals,—whether of soldiers at the front, or citizens in the rear. But so far as the official religion of Europe is concerned, it has proved to be but salt that has lost its savour, fit only to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

All this I have said in order to anticipate an objection that might rise in some minds with regard to the religious nature of the World-Centre. For the World-Centre, mark you, has planned to place among its noblest edifices a great World-conscience Building, to provide for the free utterance of ideas of international import. This building is planned to be of generous proportions, with main lecture hall, smaller halls for conference, libraries, galleries of painting and sculpture. Its definite function will be the voicing by the lips of great teachers and artists of those ideals which are of most import to the higher life of man; inviting to the service of true culture the highest talent, and enlisting human genius in the expression of that which is most akin to the divine.

From this World-conscience Building, as from a living fountain, would flow an exhaustless stream of sympathy and love and inspiration to all the ends of the earth. Congresses of the wise and good would uncover the deeper and purer motives of human character and conduct; while the principles of international morality and the light of international ideals would make manifest the richer virtues and the higher mission of each nation and people, thus weaving and interweaving those silken ties of love which would be found more mighty to keep the peace of the world than all the pacts and treaties and cove-

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nants to which the diplomacy of the world had ever set its hand.

Here also-and more definitely-will be seen the Temple of Religions, corresponding to the International Court of Justice, and separated from it only by the mighty Tower of Progress which, like an appealing arm, climbs towards the heavens, as if embodying Humanity's endless quest of Truth, Justice, Knowledge and Love. According to plan, the central part of the Temple of Religions is occupied by an immense amphitheatre for conference on the greatest themes of human interest. To right and left are smaller halls, corridors, colonnades and courtyards leading to the Temple Gardens, while the rear is occupied by a vast library with adjoining readingrooms and rooms for the study of all the sacred books, writings and manuscripts which will be treasured here for safe-keeping. Spacious museums will house and display all the available religious symbols, paintings and statues which illustrate the religious progress of all nations and times. The Temple of Religions would interfere with no church and promulgate no new doctrine. But it would collect in its museums and libraries the symbols and bibles and sacred writings and relics of past and present, so as to illustrate the growth and development of religions from magic and fetichism, through all the historic faiths, up to the latest modern developments. Thus might religion, which has been the source of many wars, become an instrument of peace and harmony. Here would be manifested the common origin of religions and their common outlook on

human destiny. Here would be the natural home and headquarters of the spiritual activities of mankind. The assembling here of the world's great saints and sages might be expected to show the connection between the past and the present, the seen and the unseen, the mortal and the immortal, and to make apparent the spiritual unity of man. It would mobilise the spiritual forces of the world, bringing order out of confusion, trust instead of suspicion, knowledge in place of ignorance, and infinite charity where now prevail antagonism and intolerance.

Thus would the Temple of Religions constitute not only a symbol of the essential unity of man, but -a means of more truly and fully realised unity. As every point of arrival forms also a point of new departure; as the terminus of a journey constitutes the starting-point of another and further journey; so the dedication of such a spiritual resort for the whole human race would be an evidence of unity, but also a means of securing a deeper and more conscious unity. Here would be no question of the dominance of one religion over, or its triumph at the expense of, another. No; but the sisterhood of all the faiths would be displayed by the exhibition of that fundamental principle which was common to them all. And when the spiritual unity of man was demonstrated, his political unity would follow as a matter of course. Community by love would reign where now prevails barbarism by force. All the races would rejoice to acknowledge themselves citizens of the whole world instead of this or that section of it. Above all nations would be humanity. They would discover

that their citizenship was even in heaven—not a doubtful and future heaven in the skies, but—the heaven of higher things on this very planet, and at this present time; the heaven of freedom, justice, truth, and peace.

If, by contrast, we regard this International Temple as the fulfilment of all national temples and cathedrals, we shall see how potent it would be to promote the spiritual and political solidarity of mankind. National temples are partizan. Patriotism even at its best is only partizanship. For what is the spectacle we behold taking place in the interiors of the national cathedrals of Europe? What are the offerings presented on the national altars of the world? What are the prayers, what the incense, what the Te Deums filling the long-drawn aisles? The prayers are merely petitions for victory over enemies who, in a similar way, are presenting similar prayers to the same Deity for victory over them! The anthems are inspired by the pride of victory, and the incense is the smell of the blood of slaughtered millions. But if the human race owned a vast International Temple or Cathedral, those competitive petitions would be impossible; they would die away on the tongues which attempted to offer them. Realising their unity in the one Creative Spirit, they would in unison of desire reach upward towards their common Source and Goal, and pray only for those blessings which were common to all, and consistent with the good of all.

In such an International Temple, moreover, a true estimate would be placed on spiritual values. No form of religion would assume superior airs towards

another. None would say, "Stand by, I am holier than thou." Spiritual domination would give way to spiritual democracy, the sense of equality before God; and the spirit of persecution would languish to its death. No form of religion would be a competitor for the exclusive favour of a tribal Deity, but all would be co-operators in the worship of a common God, and the service of a common humanity. When the religious representatives of the world met in common counsel, the various factors in religion would be revalued; elements which appeared to conflict with one another would be re-adjusted; and the only Te Deums would be those sung over great discoveries in science, great achievements in art, great displays of human magnanimity and unselfish sacrifice, the successful accomplishment of great enterprises for the common good, the happy reconciliation of conflicting interests in the spheres of industry and labour and economics, the peaceful solution of international differences, and the glorious adventures of a united race as co-workers with the Eternal in the age-long task of subduing the earth. Any other form of praise and thanksgiving would be esteemed unholy, and a blasphemy of that Spirit of Love in whom the sundered races had at last found unity, and whom all delighted to adore.

For, consider! What is it that more than anything else has provoked wars? Has it not been the divided nature of man's life? The geographical and tribal divisions of mankind, more than anything else, have bred fear and suspicion and strife. Separation involved conflict, because it involved ignorance. But

now, we may suppose, the division of the earth is accomplished. The flags of civilisation have been hoisted at both poles. The enterprise and enthusiasm of mankind may now be directed towards the victories of mind and spirit, chief among which is the union of nations for the purpose of making the most of the planet given for their home. In these mental and spiritual adventures the genius and courage and originality of human character may be expected to far surpass its earlier displays on the material planes of war. Indeed, it may be confidently predicted that when it is directed towards ideal ends, the united spirit of humanity will accomplish the most surprising results in modifying its earthly environment, and making the world at last a place really fit to live in. The causes of poverty and physical weakness, and criminality, and mental defect will be searched out by the most curious and competent minds, united in sympathetic study, over-passing all boundaries of nation and all barriers of race, quickened by the workings of the World-conscience, and declaring in a yet grander sense than the ancients, Nothing that is human is alien to us!

I have said that man's conquest over nature has been his true and proper task. A very brief glance at his past will satisfy us that it is so. The combination of human forces against the elemental forces has been the grand method of human progress. It was doubtless his contact with those mysterious powers of the universe—those powers which seemed so much alive and so hostile—that provoked early men to sacrifices and prayers, and gave rise to religious forms.

Continued progress has been made in the teeth of Nature's apparent hostility; though, when we have conquered her, as we say, we make the further discovery that she is really on our side, and is only waiting to become our servant. With the development of mind and with fuller social sympathies, man's victories have gone on from stage to stage, till he is now confronted with the possibility of taking the last and greatest step of all—the step towards the complete federation of all his tribes, the complete organisation of all his thinkers and workers, the complete inventory and application of all his resources. That brings him up against the necessity of a World-Centre, governed by a World-Charter, and sanctified by a World-Conscience. And that is the next step in the grand march of human progress.

For what, if it comes to that, is a World-Conscience? It is nothing but the general sense of mankind gathering itself up, and expressing itself through, the handful of its representative minds. And as I read, I learn that the representative minds are getting ripe for the transition to World-unity. The organisation of the world is tending that way, as I have shown in earlier pages. The trend of evolution is that way. We have science and sociology on our side as well as religion. Nay, we have even politics; for during these last weeks have not the political powers of Europe, even those which are locked in fatal strife, been declaring with unanimity and emphasis that they are seeking such international arrangements as will make the peace of the world safe for ever? They have. Well then, the stars in

their courses are fighting for us. Greater are they who are with us than all who can be against us. The old, feckless lament about the backwardness and weakness of human nature is now seen to be irrelevant. Human nature is proving itself competent. The spirit of man is adequate to its destiny; and its manifest destiny is to become one in one kingdom, or vast republic of kingdoms.

I take an illustration from a recent book on "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War." It is there argued that the instincts of the lower animals survive among the nations of to-day; some resemble the wolf-pack and some the tribal ape; some the stinging wasp and some the hive of bees. True, so far. But though the instincts may survive they do not dominate. For over and above them man has acquired thought and reflection and morality and a mind that looks before and after. He is capable of reverence for the things above him and around him and beneath him. He has become hopeful and faithful and aspiring and imaginative and resourceful. He can make new departures, which bees and wolves are incapable of doing. He can make engines to run where he cannot go. He can build ships to sail where he cannot swim. He can create machines to fly where he cannot leap. These things wolves and baboons cannot do. More, he can speculate on his origin and on a hereafter, and fashion marvellous theories of angels and gods and immortalities and heavens of endless bliss. Can such a being not build an International City with an International Temple sanctioned by an International Conscience? Do not tell me!

But of course he must use the means. He knows that, however, and may be trusted to use them when the moment comes. He has to perfect his international organisation. That is all. An American professor has written a book on the international mind. Another has suggested that the international mind is out in search of a body. That exactly hits off the situation. We do not need to create an international mind. It already exists. We have merely to find a suitable embodiment for it. The pioneers whose names and schemes I have introduced to you these past pages have shadowed forth such embodiments. And the World-Conscience Society is well on its way, including hundreds of the world's leaders, who have set their names to the great project of the World-Centre. The World-Conscience Society will assuredly multiply its numbers. It will become attractive, cohesive, consolidated. And the dream will become a reality. It cannot be doubted that unity and peace on this earth are in the social destiny of man. From the beginning the end was there, and nothing can prevent its fulfilment. The self-murder which Europe is now inflicting on herself cannot defeat it; nay, will defeat itself. For the horror and ruin of the war are bringing into fuller relief the imperative necessity of World-union, and a demand that it become actual in the political re-organisation of the world.

"Do not fear"—writes one of the fighters in the front of the battle—" that the life of the spirit is dying in us, nor that hope or energy will be spent. To some few of us at any rate the hope of helping to found some 'City of God' carries us away from

these present horrors, and beyond the graver intolerance of thought as we see it in our papers. We shall not faint, and the energy and endurance we have used here on an odious task we shall be able to redouble in the creative work that peace will bring to do."

So, then, the guns which shatter the architectures of Europe are laying the foundations of the City of Man. Every mangled corpse lying out on the plains of Europe is a plea for the solidarity of man. The conflagration of human passions is burning up the last arguments for isolation and national selfishness, and clearing the ground for the building of a World-City, demanded by the World-Conscience.

The reference to the conflagration of war reminds me that the city of London had its great fire, which two centuries and a half have not erased from the memory of its citizens. London needs no monument to perpetuate that which was esteemed a great disaster in its time.

And yet, looking back upon its great fire, London came to realise that it brought something of a blessing with it too. For it came hot on the heels of the great plague. It purified London. It burned up the plague-spots. It made possible a better and healthier London.

And yet again, with the great fire London missed a great opportunity. It missed the opportunity of building a greater and more beautiful London. For the builder of St. Paul's Cathedral, Christopher Wren, urged London to seize the opportunity to rebuild the city on broader, more generous and more commodious lines. He actually drew up plans of the

new and greater city. But again private interests prevailed over public good. London turned away from its great opportunity, and became—what its city men know it to be.

The world will presently be confronting its great opportunity to build a vast World-Centre and World-Conscience Building and its mighty Temple of Religions to be the spiritual and political head-quarters of the human family. May the world not imitate the short-sightedness of London! O that the repentant and reunited peoples of the earth may join hands to lay the foundation of a City of Celebration—a City to celebrate the Great Peace! Purged of a guilty conscience, quickened into a world-wide social consciousness, may the humbled and purified peoples unite in a great and worthy offering to Posterity, in the form of a Capital and a Temple to be the spiritual and political centre for the ages of Peace to come!

As the citizens of the world come from all its four corners to their vast World-Centre, they will behold the great dome of the Temple surmounted by its gold-bronze statue of Peace, and upon the columns that adorn the exterior will survey the statues of the great religious teachers of all ages and races; and they will realise that the times of separation and strife have come to an end, and the epoch of unification has arrived. Then the vision of the ancient seer shall be fulfilled, when the house of the Eternal shall be established among the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it:—When many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the house of the Eternal, and he will teach us of his ways, and we

will walk in his paths:—And the Eternal shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Then—in that World Rebuilt—they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Eternal! For they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Eternal!





